Daily Report

East Europe

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FBIS-EEU-95-143 *26 July 1995*

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Government Calls For 'Energetic' Measures in B-H

AU2507153795 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1330 GMT 25 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] A government statement says that the Government of the Republic of Albania is following the current developments in the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina [B-H] with attention and concern. The government expresses its indignation over the Serbian aggressive policy and acts that have led to an increasing intensification of violence against the Bosnian civil population. The continuation of genocide, violence, and ethnic cleansing in Srebrenica and Zepa is affirmed by the current combined attacks of the Serbs of Bosnia and Krajina to conquer the Bihac enclave, which significantly increases the danger of a greater conflagration in the former Yugoslavia and which may have unforeseen consequences for the entire Balkan region.

The support that the rest of the former Yugoslav Army gives to the Serbs of Bosnia and Krajina in troops, ammunition, and organization is an open violation of the so-called embargo that the official Belgrade pretends to implement against them.

The Government of the Republic of Albania is of the opinion that, alongside diplomatic efforts to resolve the conflict politically, it is now high time for the international community to take energetic and practical measures to put an end to the Serbian aggression and violence. Such a determined stance would contribute to resolving the conflict in Bosnia and the crisis in former Yugoslavia, and will also serve as a preventive means of stopping the conflict from spreading to the south.

Meanwhile, an announcement by a spokesman for the Albanian Government says: Seriously concerned over the extremely grave situation in the B-H Republic, which is created by the Serbian aggressive acts, the Albanian Government expresses solidarity with the Bosnian Government, simultaneously expressing the feelings of sympathy of the Albanian people for the martyred, unprotected Bosnian people, who, for a long time, have been subject to massacres and systematic ethnic cleansing by the Serb aggressor.

Under this difficult situation, the Albanian Government accords a humanitarian aid fund for the Bosnian Government within its own possibilities, thus joining all those governments, countries, and organizations that have offered and are offering humanitarian aid to the martyred Bosnian people.

Serreqi, U.S.'s Newson Meet on Security Issues

AU2607113795 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1330 GMT 25 Jul 95

[Report by Arben Karapici]

[FBIS Translated Text] Political and military issues seem to be at the center of attention in the current Albanian-U.S. relations. The political and military aspect of these relations was discussed at the Foreign Ministry in Tirana today at a meeting held behind closed doors. The U.S. side was presided over by deputy assistant secretary of state (Newson), and the Albanian side by Foreign Minister Alfred Serreqi.

There was no official information on the content of talks. However, trusted sources in Tirana said initially that the visit was made within the context of the dialogues on arms control and regional security proposed by U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher since July 1994. Still according to the same sources, the topics touched upon in today's talks include a detailed examination of the current situation and issues of the new European security architecture, the discussions by U.S. Vice President Al Gore and Russian Prime Minister Chernomyrdin, the dramatic situation in Bosnia and Croatia, and the Central European policy of the transfer of arms.

Meanwhile, at a bilateral level, the talks focused on U.S. assistance, the military reform, and the control over the dual use and export of arms.

Talks Considered 'Fruitful'

AU2607112595 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 25 Jul 95

[Report by Tefta Radi]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Issues of bilateral cooperation and the exchange of opinions on the regional situation and security were the focus of official talks held today between the U.S. Department of State delegation presided over by Eric Newson, assistant deputy secretary of state for political and military affairs, and the Albanian delegation presided over by Deputy Foreign Minister Arian Starova.

The U.S. delegation was also received by Foreign Minister Alfred Serreqi. After the official talks, which lasted approximately three hours, the chairmen of both delegations declared for the television:

[Begin Starova recording] Today we exchanged opinions with a U.S. delegation presided over by Mr. Newson. It was a very fruitful dialogue. I would say that two aspects of this meeting were the most important. First, we extensively discussed the issue of bilateral aid between the two countries.

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I observe with pleasure that today's meeting was held in a climate of strengthening and further expanding of Albanian-U.S. relations. The meeting also gave rise to a very fruitful exchange of opinion regarding the issue of concrete U.S. assistance to Albania on political and military issues.

The second very important aspect was that we extensively discussed the situation in former Yugoslavia and, of course, problems in Kosova and among the Albanians in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM]. I consider our exchange of opinion to be very useful for the Albanian side. We see that a dialogue between the United States and Albania will from now on be permanent. [end recording] [passage omitted]

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Zhelev Sees 'Corruption' in State Apparatus

AU2507193895 Sofia STANDART NEWS in Bulgarian 19 Jul 95 pp 12-13

[Interview with President Zhelyu Zhelev by Valeri Zapryanov, editor in chief of STANDART NEWS; place and date not given: "Corruption in the Apparatus of State Is the Rust That Consumes Everything"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Zapryanov] Mr. President, do you feel lonely?

[Zhelev] I have no time to think about it. Loneliness in politics is quite different from ordinary loneliness. Moreover, I have so many meetings and discussions.... Of course, I do feel lonely at times, such as when certain very important matters in our political life are not going well and when I am not met with understanding. On such occasions, I have experienced feelings of loneliness.

[Zapryanov] Do you feel you are not understood?

[Zhelev] This question is connected with the previous one.

[Zapryanov] A person feels he is alone when he is not understood.

[Zhelev] Yes, I have often had this feeling, a sense of not being understood, of a difference of views. I have felt this with institutions, political forces, and certain individuals. We are all moving in the same direction, but the importance of certain matters is not always clearly and precisely understood. Take, for example, the issue of land restitution. In my view, the whole democratic opposition is not acting energetically enough. It should be incredibly persistent. The Constitution is on its side, yet it has limited itself, generally speaking, to a few declarations, although of course I do not underestimate their importance. The opposition should not seek dividends, but should simply work to resolve the problem. What sort of middle class will be created when we do not return the land to people? Naturally, later processes will develop that will lead to the consolidation of land holdings and to unification into cooperatives, but real cooperatives, this time. This is the essential path for the country. I have the feeling that the people who should be the most active and most effective do not always act as they should.

[Zapryanov] Why has the opposition lost its individuality to such an extent?

[Zhelev] I do not believe it has.

[Zapryanov] I mean compared to the time when you were in charge....

[Zhelev] At that time, there was a general surge in spirits, a common euphoria, a common hope. In Bulgaria and in East Europe, we set off along the road to democracy and a market economy. All this was connected with hopes for the future, and no account was taken of the difficulties. The powerful popular movement did not allow the opposition to deal with its own affairs, to examine its navel, and to push the processes ahead. Then, no one dared to leave the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS]. The people simply did not permit it. I attended about 80 rallies and, at all of them, the crowd chanted: "Unity, SDS, Unity!"

[Zapryanov] Did winning power erode the SDS?

[Zhelev] Many things appeared. Bulgarian society became involved in processes in which ideals and aspirations were supplanted by interests. This is the root of the problem, it does not lie in individual personalities or in individual parties, organizations, or groups. Of course, they also are of some importance, they have a sense of how things are going. However, the interests remain the main element. The interests of groups are one thing, and the interests of the land-hungry peasants are another.

[Zapryanov] What about the personal interest of the politician?

[Zhelev] That as well.

[Zapryanov] Has corruption entered the top echelons of power?

[Zhelev] I think that, at this stage, corruption of the apparatus of state is the most dangerous threat in Bulgaria. This is the rust that in fact eats away everything and makes the state institutions incapable. So often, people come to me who want to invest in Bulgaria—from the United States and Europe.... They come with serious intentions, with projects. For them, the presidential institution carries exceptional authority. They want nothing more than moral support, which I always give them, because I believe that fresh money and new technologies should come to Bulgaria. They then telephone the relevant ministry and find that they are made to wait. They return day after day and are put off.... This is typical of the bureaucracy, but, in the final event, it turns out that it is really a hint that you should slip a bribe so that things can be arranged. The foreigners rely on honesty in business, and this rude manner of seeking bribes shocks them.

I fear that all this operates in the interest of certain groups who do not want an influx of foreign capital, because then they will have real competition. They want to keep their monopoly positions, hiding behind the cliches of "national capital" and "national interest." This in fact is a camouflage for corruption and new

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monopolism. We are dismantling the old system, in which the state held an absolute monopoly, yet then a group appears that wants to occupy key positions in the same way, to gain a monopoly position, to bribe ministers and deputy ministers. This, in essence, is a mafia.

[Zapryanov] It is a mafia when it enters the country's government.

[Zhelev] That is exactly what I am saying.

[Zapryanov] Mr. President, will you venture to make an assessment of the government? There have been several administrations during your time in office.

[Zhelev] Yes, six.

[Zapryanov] Do you think this government is a strong one?

[Zhelev] It is a power government rather than a strong one. I think that it is beginning to collapse in one respect. Many people harbored the illusion that, because this administration is connected with a political force held by a firm position in the state system, it would manange to control crime.

[Zapryanov] Many people cast their votes remembering the former militia and the security that it used to provide....

[Zhelev] Yes, it is indeed an illusion, because the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] is genetically linked with people who represent the world of crime. They are its people, they came from its midst, from its structures.

[Zapryanov] Are you talking about the young men with gold chains around their necks?

[Zhelev] Everything is related. To really combat crime, one needs young people who are not connected with the old structures. Of course, they have to be paid what they ask, otherwise it does not work. Only then can we have a real police force that is strong, incorruptible, and an incarnation of the law. Society is very sensitive on this matter. When people see that the police are doing their job properly, they will give them moral, political, and all other kinds of support. However, I consider that, so far, the government has failed on this issue. There have been so many suspicious killings, and not a single one of them has been solved, not one. The period of the Berov administration was something special. In this respect, the cabinet did not appear at the right time. Later on, it established ties with the cadres of the former regime and ended in being paralyzed and incapable.

[Zapryanov] It was a period of stagnation.

[Zhelev] Precisely. However, now, when the government is supposed to have the great ambition of solving the crime problem, the situation becomes absolutely clear to us. The other field in which the government is failing in practice is the return of the farmland. All this pleading against the Constitutional Court, all these allegations that the court cannot legislate, but merely delay laws, without restoring previous ones, represent a typical attempt to circumvent the law and the institutions.

I am also worried about certain moves that the government has made in foreign policy. Slight differences of views exist in this field. They are slight at the moment, but may become serious, although they sound more a difference of accent than any extreme definite line. For example, there is the NATO issue. They are doing everything possible to prove that all these statements by the president about NATO form part of some election campaign, some kind of image-building created in the West, or that it is the work of particular political forces. However, this is the most important issue for Bulgaria. We need guarantees for our national security. We are in the Balkans, and a fire is glowing behind our backs that may flare up with such force that we may be drawn into the conflagration without realizing it. Before this, however, Albania and Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] will certainly be drawn in. The situation is becoming very dangerous. More than anything else, Bulgaria needs to obtain foreign guarantees for its national security, yet some people are trying to represent the situation almost as a repetition of the old reflexes; at one time, Russia was our big brother, now it is the United States. This is absolute nonsense. If Bulgaria becomes a regular NATO member, which it must do, then, for the first time, we will have the unique chance of having all the great democracies behind us. What more do we want? These are lasting guarantees. What has sometimes led me to despair is the quality of our politicians. Take a look at our history in the 20th century. It is very instructive. We always seem to end up on the losing side. It is another matter when the choice was made in Yalta without us having a say, but now we have the chance to choose ourselves. No one from outside is intimidating us or applying pressure.

[Zapryanov] How many centers exist for formulating our foreign policy?

[Zhelev] Do you mean under the Constitution?

[Zapryanov] And in reality....

[Zhelev] I consider that, by and large, the Constitution has arranged things well. If everyone fulfills his responsibilities, the machine of state should function smoothly, as it did previously. Now, however, the BSP holds the majority in parliament and the government. In such a situation, a real state of coexistence must exist, with

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cooperation between the institutions, to allow the state to function normally. For this reason, I have said that war between the institutions endangers the state's normal functioning and operation. In more dramatic cases, such as in Russia, Georgia, and Chechnya, the situation may even lead to a direct military conflict. It may provoke civil war.

[Zapryanov] Is there a war of the institutions in Bulgaria?

[Zhelev] No such possibility exists in Bulgaria, I hope. With particular reference to the army, I always advocated that it should be depoliticized. I would be compelled to dismiss immediately any top commanders who start to play games with any political force. The greatest danger would be if the army was split. We may have two Holy Synods, although I do not say this is a good thing, we may have two Chief Mufti's Offices, and we may have three social democratic parties, but we cannot have two armies.

[Zapryanov] When the Constitutional Court returns laws to parliament, does this not represent a war between the institutions, or a testing of strength?

[Zhelev] I believe that this thesis is deliberately supported by certain circles in the BSP. They constantly harp on the fact that such a war exists. They imagine that they can win it, but it is simply a danger to everyone. The Constitutional Court cannot be suspected of deliberately stirring up dissension. As you see, the Court also rejected the opposition's objections to the ecological law. Personally, I do not agree with the court's interpretation, but its decisions are binding on me and on all the institutions. If we fail to recognize this, then the entire machine of state will stop working.

[Zapryanov] You have pinpointed three weaknesses of the government, but you have not said a single good word. In your opinion, is the government succeeding in any field?

[Zhelev] Well, let me see.... I am following these processes—the economic and financial ones, and perhaps there is some degree of stabilization there. However, it is quite possible that this is a seasonal phenomenon. During the summer there are no problems with power supply and heating. There are plenty of fruit and vegetables at comparatively cheap prices. This is a characteristic seasonal fluctuation. However, such a trend may exist.... Perhaps something is being done in this respect, but I do not see anything being done regarding the reforms. I simply do not see any progress. They are postponing the mass privatization until the spring....

[Zapryanov] The documents never stated that it would start earlier....

[Zhelev] But it should have started. We should have introduced mass privatization three years ago. It should have started under the Berov administration, which assumed office as a government of privatization. However, it did nothing, it did not even privatize a single bolt. The Privatization Agency did everything on its own responsibility, thanks to the tenacity of Reneta Indzhova. The situation is the same with the land, which also forms part of the reform. In my opinion, the government is still at the stage of good intentions.

[Zapryanov] Has nothing changed since your private meeting with Videnov?

[Zhelev] Look, at that meeting, we mostly talked about the institutions working together and about defining the issues clearly. Regardless of the fact that we hold different positions and represent different political forces, we have to work together, and this cannot happen without maintaining elementary contacts. Real, day-to-day routine work is impossible without contacts between parliament, the president, the government, and the judiciary. Isolation leads to paralysis of the machinery of state. The other problem that we discussed was foreign policy and security. We cannot have two foreign policies. On this basis, we have to seek points of agreement and try to bring our positions closer together in the state's interest.

[Zapryanov] However, compromise has not triumphed from that day until now, has it?

[Zhelev] Nevertheless, as you see, we are still meeting. We met the other day to discuss the Gypsies, because this is an issue of national importance. This is a time bomb that will cause a big mess unless it is defused in good time. Otherwise, we will cultivate our own homegrown racism, and hordes of skinheads will appear, and with good reason, because tens of thousands of children do not attend school at all. They cannot learn the language of the nation to which they belong, so there is a risk of them becoming exposed to criminal elements.

[Zapryanov] I am left with the impression that you do not agree to meet even for a glass of brandy. I ventured to invite you and Videnov to dinner with some chief editors, but you declined.

[Zhelev] Yes, I remember. I have nothing against drinking a glass of brandy with you, but you do not have to invite Videnov as well.

[Zapryanov] I will remind you of these words. However, let us turn to concrete politics. Are you able to adopt a position regarding the local elections? Is there any truth in the claim that Mrs. Indzhova is your creature?

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[Zhelev] First, I would like to say something about an erroneous viewpoint that the press often maintains, namely that I have been more or less depoliticized. This is not true. I cannot be a leader of a party or coalition, but I can have preferences for a particular party. The Constitution does not prohibit this at all. I am bound to defend the unity of the nation, but this is true for the government as well, because it is Bulgaria's Government. The BSP deliberately maintains the insinuation that the president is depoliticized, as it wants to imply that the president is practically guilty of a crime in having sympathies for processes under way or for political formations. Mitterrand was a representative of the French Socialist Party, was he not? The present president of France represents a different political force. Or look at the United States: Clinton is a Democrat, whereas the previous president was a Republican.

[Zapryanov] What, then, is your position regarding the local elections?

[Zhelev] My definitive position is that the democratic opposition must do everything possible to join forces to fight the local elections and nominate a single candidate for each post. Who this candidate is in each case is a matter for negotiation. I cannot interfere regarding this, because this would inevitably cause tension. I do not want this, and regard it as dangerous for democracy. That is my position. There exist various insinuations that Reneta Indzhova is my creature, that she is my secret weapon, and so on. I regard all this as a joke. She is a person of weight, with her own independent views. She proved this at the Privatization Agency and during her time as prime minister, so she does not require anyone's support. As you see, the people react very precisely to the actions of individual politicians, and I believe that they assessed her value.

[Zapryanov] How do you think the conflict will end regarding the candidate for Sofia's mayor?

[Zhelev] I do not believe it will come to a conflict. The opposition has to find a compromise and do all it can to nominate a single candidate.

[Zapryanov] You do not mention a name.

[Zhelev] That is nothing to do with me. Nonetheless, they must find a candidate who will dominate the campaign. What is at stake is not the prestige of any particular political force, but the prestige of democracy. After all, Sofia is the capital, and it is very important for the capital to have a stable, strong mayor, a person who enjoys respect. He can provide many dividends for the democratic opposition.

[Zapryanov] There has been a lot of talk that you intend to form a propresidential party around yourself, and the names of Ludzhev and Petko Simeonov have been mentioned in this connection.

[Zhelev] This is all speculation encouraged by certain political forces that want to split the opposition. These groups have forced their way in in various places with the goal of provoking confrontation between the institutions and creating distrust between the political forces, for example between the SDS and the People's Union, and between the SDS and DPS [Rights and Freedoms Movement]. They are initiating all kinds of different stories, and some people will take the bait. A person does not need to be so experienced and intelligent to understand simple things, and one of these is that those in power fear two things most of all: first, the unity of the opposition, and second, good relations between the Presidency and the opposition. There has been talk of a presidential party. Presidential parties are not created. What does the term mean?

[Zapryanov] A political formation that will have very close relations with you.

[Zhelev] First of all, the formation of a party of people who are in power is not very popular. At least, this has been the experience throughout the whole of East Europe. If certain individual politicians produce their own initiatives regarding a propresidential party, a propresidential formation or coalition, then that is their affair. Of course, as a person who is a patron of the Liberal International, I am bound to have close relations with the liberal parties that are developing in Bulgaria. No strong liberal formation yet exists, but I hope that one will develop in the course of time. The very development of our country requires this, as does the differentiation of interests in our society.

[Zapryanov] In this connection, will you run again for president?

[Zhelev] Permit me not to answer this question.

[Zapryanov] I ask this because, some time ago, you said that if your fury is aroused....

[Zhelev] This is a very formal way of posing the question. What should a man do before deciding to run again? First, he has to decide whether it is necessary. He may think that he can achieve something important for the country in his second term, something that others may not do or will not want to do. Second, he has to decide whether his country needs him in this post. A man has to assess all these things, it is not merely a personal question.

[Zapryanov] Nevertheless, you are asking yourself this question, are you not?

[Zhelev] Everyone should ask himself this question.

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[Zapryanov] Mr. Zhelev, does the Local Elections Act not restrict media freedom?

[Zhelev] Yes, it does, but I would like to add something. I find it simply scandalous that no law has yet been passed on the media and that this commission has not been disbanded. Parliament has no right to take over the role of the executive, and the media commission is doing just this. It administers the media, controls them, and restricts them; all these are activities related to real government.

[Zapryanov] A considerable number of BSP deputies are demanding the same thing, namely the passing of a law on the media and the dissolution of the commission. They have even declared that this commission will be the most short-lived.

[Zhelev] Short-lived? It was created by the Grand National Assembly five years ago. As I see it, the commission will not be dissolved soon. Here too, the principles of the separation of powers are being violated. No parliamentary commission has the right to govern. Parliament is the supreme legislative body. I am also worried about something else. Whether the freedoms of speech, the press, and the media are restricted by a politburo, a general secretary, or a parliamentary majority is not so important. It does not make the restriction any more democratic. We should have a law, and some public or civic council should be set up to choose the leaders of the national media openly, on democratic principles.

[Zapryanov] Mr. President, thank you for the interview.

Police Deport Ilinden Leader to FYROM

AU2607123395 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 22 Jul 95 p 1

["DUMA PRESS" staff report: "Leader of Ilinden United Macedonian Organization Expelled to Macedonia"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The press center of Blagoevgrad Regional Police Directorate has announced that on 21 July Georgi Popatanasov, a citizen of the Republic of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM], was deported through the Stanke Lisichkovo border checkpoint and banned from visiting our country for the next five years.

Georgi Popatanasov is from the village of Eleshnitsa in the Razlog district, and during one of the traditional border gatherings applied to the Skopje authorities for political asylum. He is now employed in the Central Macedonian Library and frequently visits his native village. According to information gathered by the NSS [National Security Service or National Investigation Service—both services have same acronym] for many years he has systematically engaged in activities harmful to Bulgaria as an ideological and organizing leader of the Ilinden United Macedonian Organization and its wing that operates in the Mesta valley.

BSP Deputy Assesses Merits of New Defense Bill

AU2507131095 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 21 Jul 95 p 3

[Interview with Lyuben Petrov, Army general of the Reserve and National Assembly deputy of the Bulgarian Socialist Party, by Tanya Geneva; place and date not given: "The New Law Should Provide Stability for the Army"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Geneva] Will the 37th National Assembly finally adopt a new law on defense and the armed forces? The troops and the public have been waiting for it for five years now.

[Petrov] This law has been unjustifiably delayed, and the expectations for it to become a fact at long last are understandable. I believe that we will have the law by the end of the year. However, everyone must understand that this bill is extremely extensive, so that time is needed to consider and evaluate the hundreds of proposals during the second reading. The National Security Commission is working very hard, showing a constructive spirit and great concern, but the time is simply insufficient. The main work will continue after the summer vacation. [passage omitted]

[Geneva] What are the changes embodied in the law to bring it up to modern European standards?

[Petrov] The bill is modern in spirit and approaches the standards of European legislation. It widely advocates the principle of civilian control of the armed forces and their neutral political position in the state. A special passage forbids assigning the army tasks of an internal political nature. It guarantees the servicemen's civil rights, and compensates them for certain limitations of these rights.

The law also provides for both conscription and regular service for noncommissioned ranks. This is something new in Bulgarian history and brings us much closer to European standards. Its application will lead to an extremely important development—a reduction of the contingent of conscripted men and, accordingly, a cut in the length of service for conscripts. Together with alternative types of service, these postulates provide many chances for the young men due to enter the barracks. [passage omitted]

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[Geneva] Have the bill's proposers reached agreement with parliament on the length of compulsory military service?

[Petrov] I accept the arguments of the proposers that they have made precise calculations of the numbers of men required to make up the army's strength and have investigated the demographic factor. However, the issue is a political one that provokes wide public reaction. In my view, the proposal of 18 months compulsory service, with 12 months for young men with higher education, satisfies the bill's proposers, the National Assembly, and society at large. I have proposed that young men with difficult family backgrounds should serve half the regular period, that is nine months. I hope that the present one-year period of service for persons with higher education will also be preserved. [passage omitted]

[Geneva] Can you tell us a little more about the separation of the powers of the individual institutions?

[Petrov] The aim of this law is to regulate social relations in the field of defense and the armed forces. Here, one must have a complete constitutional balance between the powers of the leading organs—the National Assembly, the president, and the Council of Ministers. The law is totally guided by the requirement of Article 1 of the Constitution, which states that Bulgaria is a republic with a parliamentary government. Accordingly, it embodies the principle of civilian control over the armed forces. In this respect, the Constitution is perfect. In Article 100 it appointed the president as supreme commander in chief of the armed forces, but also specified his powers. The Constitution limited the president's powers, because under the basic law he does not bear responsibility for his actions and is not subject to parliamentary control. In their administration, the Council of Ministers and the defense minister as a civilian exercise civic control, supervise and monitor, but they are subject to control by parliament.

If we want to achieve constitutional balance, we must strictly regulate the powers of the National Assembly, the president, and the government. I am not thinking of who is head of the cabinet and the state at the moment, or who will hold these positions in the future. What I have in mind is principled conformance with the basic law.

The present bill does not define precisely enough the powers of the president as supreme commander in chief and those of the Council of Ministers as the body in charge of the armed forces. For this reason, we have had considerable disputes, but I believe that consensus will be reached in parliament. [passage omitted]

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Klaus: Fuss Over Sudeten Pamphlets Exaggerated

AU2507160895 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 21 Jul 95 p 3

[Interview with Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus by Eva Martinkova in Prague on 20 July: "A Few Republicans Do Not Merit a Campaign"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Martinkova] Do you believe it right that those who spread alarming news in a pamphlet on Czech-German relations should have their parliamentary immunity lifted?

[Klaus] I am not referring directly to lifting anyone's immunity, but even the call for an extraordinary session of the Chamber of Deputies somewhat embarrasses me. I feel that such impulsive actions usually do not lead anywhere. I do not believe that a few republicans deserve such a massive media campaign as the one now starting and that will surround the extraordinary session of the Chamber. I am convinced that it does not merit this. It could have been settled by any ordinary means. I feel that the evidence on how it happened and who did it is clear, and, if the Chamber dealt with it a month later, the world would not collapse. So, I look at it with some disdain and believe that it is a somewhat perfidious attempt on both sides to get into the center of attention.

[Martinkova] Did your talks with Josef Lux, chairman of the KDU-CSL [Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party] bring a certain holiday calm to the coalition?

[Klaus] What we and the chairman of the KDU-CSL discussed was rather the immediate and future cooperation between the two of us and our respective parties. Sometimes, I detect in our media a certain demonization of our mutual relationship. I believe this is very exaggerated, and we confirmed this ourselves yesterday, and that gives me a good feeling. We did not speak about specific issues but rather about how to prevent such impasses as the case of family allowances and the increase in pensionable age. When certain stands are too far apart and repeatedly so, it is clear that neither side can give in. That may be the case even if the party wanted to and if it were as accommodating, kind, pleasant, and friendly as possible. If all of these things were discussed in similar talks first, such a fortification in buttressed and barricaded positions might never occur, and a reasonable compromise could be found much more easily.

[Martinkova] So, the church property no longer belongs to the unsettled controversial issues? Are we to expect the end of restitution by election time?

[Klaus] We outlined the problems at the last government session. They will be dealt with, and we promised each other and Chairman Lux that we would discuss it before the end of August so that we can find formulations acceptable to both parties.

LSNS Deputies Realign To Form New Group

AU2507131695 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 21 Jul 95 p 3

[Article by "mrk": "As the LSNS Deputies' Group Vanished Yesterday, a New One Was Immediately Formed"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prague—With the departure yesterday of four of the total of five members of the Deputies' Group of the Liberal National Social Party [LSNS], that group ceased to exist. When a member of the Bohemian and Moravian Center Union [CMUS] joined them, however, a new group was immediately formed.

Deputies Ladislav Blazek (formerly of the Civic Democratic Party Group), Miroslav Kasparek, Pavel Kulicka, and Jaroslav Unger (all formerly of the Association for the Republic-Republican Party of Czechoslovakia) explain in a statement for LIDOVE NOVINY that the reason they left the group is the present situation there, where the "opinions of one individual and his personal ambitions are presented as the views of the entire group." The chairman, and the fifth member of the former LSNS Group, was the former party chairman, Pavel Hirs. According to the current Chamber of Deputies' rules, to qualify as a parliamentary faction a group must have at least five members.

The aforementioned deputies were joined by Deputy Tomas Sterba (formerly of the CMUS). Thereby, a new LSNS Deputies' Group emerged, of which Sterba became chairman and Kulicka deputy chairman. In its statement, the group says it intends to "advocate the interests of the voters in coexistence with the policy principles of the LSNS and in harmony with their own conscience."

[Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech on 22 July on page 3 adds: "Pavel Hirs, former chairman of the Liberal National Social Party, left the party on Thursday (20 July)."]

Trade Union Official Views New Association

AU2507153995 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 20 Jul 95 p 3

[Interview with trade union leader Richard Falbr by "em"; place and date not given: "A Question for CMKOS Chairman Richard Falbr"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [LIDOVE NOVINY] Would you comment on the foundation of the competition

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trade union center that is beginning to work under the name "Association of Independent Trade Unions" and is inviting your trade unions and parent organizations to join its ranks?

[Falbr] The Association of Independent Trade Unions emerged, as far as I know, from the merger of the Trade Union of Farmers, which left the Bohemian and Moravian Chamber of Trade Unions [CMKOS], and the members of several parent organizations in north Bohemian power plants that left the Trade Union of Power Engineers. It also incorporates the rather mysterious Union of Private Employees that is a member of the World Trade Federation, which, as is well known, was banished from the Czech Republic. Hence, it is a remarkable and not at all very strong agglomeration. Nevertheless, we have nothing against it—we have advocated trade unionist plurality since the beginning of 1990. The question is what this association can offer to the trade unions that became its members. I have great doubts regarding the viability of this grouping, but yes, it has the right to independent existence.

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Duray Apologizes to U.S., Surprises Colleagues

AU2607112795 Bratislava SME in Slovak 22 Jul 95 p 2

[Article by "(dos)" and TASR: "M. Duray Is Also Apologizing on Behalf of His Colleagues; His Colleagues Are Surprised"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Bratislava—Egyutteles Chairman M. Duray apologized yesterday to the United States and the Slovak Government on behalf of his colleagues and coalition partners for "certain remarks" that they made following their return from the United States. [passage omitted] L. Nagy expressed his surprise at Duray's statement and said that he is not aware of anything for which he should apologize. According to him, he did not misinterpret the points of view put forward by U.S. officials, and he still believes that, if a significant change is not made in the Slovak governing coalition's political course, the United States will obviously exercise its rights and obligations arising from the Helsinki Final Act. E. Bugar also feels that he has nothing to apologize for. He described Duray's apology as a unilateral step that will harm the Hungarian Coalition. Bugar conceded that perhaps it was inappropriate to publish the information they obtained in such a form. He added, however, that some Congress representatives did indeed show the resolve to take steps that could be characterized as assisting the democratization of Slovak society. "If Mr. Duray did not hear this, that is his business," said Bugar. According to him, Duray suggested that, following publication of the statement released by the U.S. Embassy, they distance themselves from the remarks made by L. Nagy, which, however, Bugar refused to do. He described the entire issue as a continuation of the other minor disagreements within the Hungarian Coalition. The representatives of the Hungarian parties will discuss the situation at a coalition council meeting.

Ministry Denounces Hungarian-Language Daily

AU2507154095 Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA in Slovak 21 Jul 95 p 2

[Article by "(mp)": "A Statement on Demagoguery in the Hungarian Press"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Slovak Culture Ministry issued a statement yesterday on demagoguery in the Hungarian press published in Slovakia. It says the following:

"It has become an all-out tradition that the Hungarian minority press in Slovakia feeds its readers a mixture of lies, half-truths, and demagoguery of the coarsest grain, of which even the masters of this craft from totalitarian regimes would not be ashamed. We state with regret that the daily UJ SZO is particularly distinguished in this method. In whole series of articles and 'meditations on night buses,' it deluges the public day in and day out with hateful bile about everything that is happening in the Slovak Republic. Everyone has the right to an opinion. Perhaps even to hatred. The question is, however, whether he also has the right to fill the citizen with his hatred. The unbelievable combinations in its interpretation of the draft law on the state language, the breathtaking 'examples' of the possible consequences of this law in practice (for example, that a parent may be fined for not using the Slovak language with his child as the shared unifying language), the vision that in hospital wards and delivery rooms it could be proclaimed in Slovak on signs: 'If in pain or childbirth, it is forbidden to groan, cry out, or pray in Hungarian!' and similar outright drivel really verge on the loss of common sense. There remains only one thing to believe in: that the citizen-reader is not suffering from this loss and that, on the basis of his own experience, his own reasoning, and his own judgment, he will discern the intentions of these drummers and reject NOVE SLOVO [New Word] (UJ SZO's name in Slovak), which is becoming more and more a tribune for the disseminators of unrest and hatred."

Intellectuals, Artists Protest Culture 'Concept'

AU2507170695

[FBIS Editorial Report] Bratislava SME in Slovak on 18 July on page 8, under the headline "Personalities Express Their Alarm at the Concept for Slovak Culture and at Many of the Culture Ministry's Measures," carries a 600-word statement signed by almost 200 artists and intellectuals that was issued in Bratislava on 14 July. In it, they express their concern at the "threats posed in the so-called Concept for Slovak Culture," which provides an outline of the steps the Culture Ministry plans to take. The signatories make seven points in their statement. In the first one, they describe the following as "alarming": "The lack of respect for the plurality of contemporary art. The absence of tolerance toward different opinion, which conjures up an atmosphere of hatred and fear that is dangerously reminiscent of the 1940's, 1950's, and 1970's." They also protest against the Ministry's financial strategy, which gives priority to "political and national points of view that are abused to promote power group interests." They protest against the "rejection of independence for the Pro-Slovakia state culture fund," "the centralization of the management of state cultural institutions in Slovakia," the continuing dismissals of state gallery directors "without reason," the "elimination" of cultural magazines, and the "unwarranted attacks on the independence of nonpolitical

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foundations and other nongovernment entities" such as the Soros Center for Contemporary Arts. In concluding their protest, the signatories make the following statement: "Our point of view is an expression of real concern about the resumption of the normalization policies from the beginning of the 1970's. The menacing nature of this campaign is compounded in that it is taking place not only on an ideological level but also on the level of manipulating the economic resources intended to support culture."

Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak on 21 July on page 2, under the headline "The Culture Ministry's Point of View," carries a 200-word TASR report on the Culture Ministry's reaction to this protest. There is no reference to when this statement was issued. According to the Ministry, the protest is a "mixture of lies and demagoguery." The statement, issued to TASR by the Ministry's spokeswoman, M. Podhradska, continues: "The list of 'intellectuals' is altogether concordant with those Slovak cultural personalities who have written themselves indelibly, in the manner of Herostratus, into the young history of our freedom and independence. It is enough to compare the lists of the Forum of Intelligentsia campaigners or of the VPN (Public Against Violence) haters of all things Slovak."

Meciar Previews Agenda of Coming Visit to Romania

LD2507210195 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1630 GMT 25 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] A Slovak Government delegation led by Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar will leave tomorrow for a two-day visit to Romania. The prime minister will be accompanied by Sergej Kozlik, deputy prime minister and finance minister, Foreign Minister Juraj Schenk, Economy Minister Jan Ducky, and Alexander Rezes, minister of transport, posts, and telecommunications. Our reporter Ivan Bielko has asked Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar for a short interview.

[Begin recording] [Bielko] Prime minister, bilateral economic and political cooperation is high on the agenda of your talks in Romania. Which particular areas of this cooperation need to be developed or improved?

[Meciar] Slovak and Romanian economic officials met during my last visit. Later on, a successful meeting took place in Slovakia. All of these contacts did boost the turnover but still did not raise it to the desired level. We have prepared proposals regarding the capital market, and we have also prepared joint programs that used to exist in former cooperations [as heard]. We have solved some issues involving business in third countries. Slovak-Romanian relations are important and play a stabilizing role in Central Europe. Economic cooperation is also important with respect to exploiting the Danube as a common transport route. We will discuss many issues in Romania. A large group of businessmen is traveling with us so I think there will be a dynamic and positive working atmosphere.

[Bielko] Will you make any other proposals in Romania?

[Meciar] The Central European market is an important matter. We already have the Visegrad Group, and we have the Central European Free Trade Association [CEFTA]. The Slovak Republic unambiguously advocates the extension of CEFTA by 1 January 1996 to include Romania.

The Slovak Republic needs to discuss other political and international issues, particularly minority rights. We have common problems, although the situation and the conditions differ.

Assessment of the Slovak-Hungarian treaty and preparations for the Romanian-Hungarian talks will be very important for us. Although relations have improved in many aspects, this treaty has met with certain problems in connection with Number 1201 [Council of Europe recommendation on ethnic minorities' rights], which the Romanian side is refusing completely. It would be desirable for Central Europe to solve this problem. Therefore, the talks with top Romanian officials will be most important. I expect that the debate will strenghten mutual trust and friendship. [end recording]

Austrian, Polish Military Delegations Visit

LD2507210795 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1630 GMT 25 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] An Austrian Army delegation led by Division (General Horst Kleiner) has been visiting the Slovak Army General Staff since yesterday. Today, the Austrians were introduced to the work of the 1st Army Corps in Topolcany.

Meanwhile, the General Staff headquarters in Trencin welcomed other foreign guests—a delegation of the Polish Army's chemical defense unit led by its commander, (Colonel Wladyslaw Karc). The Polish guests will hold talks with members of the radiation, chemical, and biological defense of the Slovak Army General Staff on possible cooperation in monitoring radiation and the chemical situation in peaceful conditions. They will also learn about the training of experts in chemical defense based in Rimavska Sobota. Discussions will also focus on other issues related to the transformation of both the Slovak and the Polish Armies.

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No Tripartite Decision on Energy Price Increases

AU2507144295 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 21 Jul 95 pp 1-2

[Article by "(cr)": "An Implication of Wage Regulation"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Bratislava—It has still not been decided whether adjustments to the prices of electricity, heating, and natural gas will be made. There are also differing opinions among the coalition parties. This statement was made by Jozef Kalman following yesterday's meeting of the Council for Economic and Social Accord (RHSD). Kalman is deputy prime minister and RHSD chairman.

The government withdrew from yesterday's agenda material on its policy for increasing energy prices. Kalman added that the long-term concept had proceeded from increasing energy prices. The issue merely involves when this step will be taken. The social partners agreed that, after the situation is mapped out thoroughly at the RHSD meeting in August, they will discuss compensation in connection with the abolition of discounts and the increase in fares. "Then we can consider the other possible adjustments that will have an impact on citizens," Kalman said. Representatives of all three sides [government, employers, and trade unions] will meet before the end of the month to discuss compensation so that the Tripartite can deal with it. [passage omitted]

Among the most discussed issues at yesterday's Tripartite meeting was a report on wages development during the first quarter of this year that was submitted by the Ministry of Labor, Social Affairs, and the Family. According to Vaclav Stevko, vice president of the Confederation of Trade Unions, compared with the same period last year, the productivity growth index was 116.2 and that of nominal wages was 114.5, and the ministry is suggesting "implied wage regulation." Kalman pointed out that, in its conclusions, the ministry is recommending that the finance minister take certain measures in relation to the individual departments, because loss-making organizations—at present, mainly state enterprises or enterprises in which the state has a stake—have greater wages growth than enterprises that are profitable. The social partners agreed to put forward their points of view on wages development within 14 days.

Unions Take Tougher Stand on Government Measures

AU2507145395 Bratislava SME in Slovak 20 Jul 95 pp 1-2

[Article by "(r)" and TASR: "The Trade Unionists Are Adopting a Tougher Stance Against the Government"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—"For the first time, we are expressing very grave reservations about the course of economic and social reform, which is having a distinctly negative effect on rank-and-file citizens," said Marian Mesiarik, chairman of the Mining, Geology, and Oil Industry Workers' Trade Union, on Slovak Radio during yesterday's union meeting. "We are neither willing nor really able to go beyond a certain limit of social tolerance, and that limit is already here. Because the abolition of social discounts on fares and the proposal to increase and the significant rise in the prices of electricity, heating, and gas are measures that have led us to the opinion that the citizen will have nothing left in his wallet to pay for the basic necessities," he pointed out. They would like to achieve, by means of a resolution, a halt to social devastation and to make sure that, following the rise in fares, no further restrictions are planned in the near future.

The trade union chairman pointed out that, if the government does not respect the unions and tripartism is not functional, they will also be forced to take a unilateral step: a frontal onslaught for a radical rise in wages.

The KOVO Trade Union Presidium has expressed agreement with the course of action of its members who stepped down from the Confederation of Trade Unions [KOZ] Board at an extraordinary assembly on 10 July. According to KOVO officials, the Presidium has also recommended that other trade union members give up their posts on the KOZ Board. At the congress, they would also like to initiate a change in its articles, a change to the effect that the weight of opinion at the KOZ assembly would depend directly on the strength of the membership base. The KOVO Presidium is recommending that a KOZ congress be held soon. If KOZ endorses the unions' aggressive stance against the government's intolerable social measures, KOVO will support the Confederation's policy. If not, it will turn to unions with which it will be able jointly to organize protests. The KOVO unionists do not want to cause a conflict at any cost. According to their chairman, J. Krumpolec, "The best strike is one that does not happen because an agreement has been reached before it takes place."

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Horn Maintains Stance for Introduction of Visas

LD2607083895 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 0500 GMT 26 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The prime minister [Gyula Horn] continues to maintain his position in support of introducing visas for citizens from neighboring states. He said this in a statement to "Sunrise" before the start of discussions on the second day of the Budapest conference of foreign ambassadors.

[Begin Horn recording] This is not a new idea. We have already raised this issue with our Western partners and the states involved; Romania and Ukraine. Regarding Ukraine, during my last visit to Kiev we agreed that, unless we saw substantive intentions of changing the situation, we would be forced to...[pauses] In other words, we do not do this out of joy, and we are not talking about some kind of impromptu step. My concern is that from the point of view of the country's public safety and the need to direct the illegal economy into legal channels, as well as from other points of view, tough decisions also must be taken. We do not deal with this issue out of joy but out of consideration for the country's interest. [end recording]

Bokros To Insist on Central Budget Cost Cutting

AU2507130795 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 22 Jul 95 pp 1, 4

[Report by Katalin Bossanyi: "Lajos Bokros Will Fight Tooth and Nail"]

[FBIS Translated Text] I will fight tooth and nail to see to it that the government patches up the 12-billion-forint [Ft] gap created by the Constitutional Court's decision through a differentiated reduction of central spending. If we wanted to increase revenue, this would accelerate inflation and dampen the already functioning positive processes, Finance Minister Lajos Borkos has told our correspondent.

According to our information, next week's two-day government session is to have five major issues submitted by the finance minister. The government will assess the first half-year's processes. It will then decide in the light of this how to patch up the Ft12-billion gap in the central budget. It will discuss the 1996 budget, including the key figures. It will learn about the concept of the state administration's reform, which will show changes made to six major subsystems. In addition to this, it will discuss the three-year economic stabilization program, which fits organically into the more overall modernization concept.

Bokros firmly stated that the government has the means to make up the Ft12-billion budget deficit. We are thinking in terms of a strict austerity plan, which is not based on the lawnmower principle and which only reduces the expenses of the central budget, Bokros emphasized. In his view, the various ideas to increase revenue would only increase inflation and strengthen the black economy.

Bokros can only accept a reduction in spending, as all other solutions would question the previous goals and would result in failure to come to an agreement with the IMF. Bokros thinks that the IMF agreement is absolutely necessary because, without it, we would only be able to get loans that are 1.5 percent more expensive to reschedule existing debts, while the budget has to pay Ft500 billion in interest charges this year alone, and this does not reduce the level of debt. Bokros has indicated that the foreign and domestic debts have reached a level at which they cannot be continued. It is vitally important that net debt does not increase next year and that the reform of state administration begins, which will in the long term reduce the budget deficit.

Bokros will also be suggesting to the government that the various sectors should themselves deal with the deficit of the state administration's various subsystems within their own spheres of authority. The Ft12-billion gap in the central budget can be patched up after coordinating the various ministries' interests and without putting a further burden on the population.

Bokros was not yet willing to reveal any concrete facts, but it was possible to perceive that the necessary reductions could come from withdrawing the amounts earmarked for compensating the canceled welfare measures and from the budget reserves, by cutting some funds. The Ft15-billion deficit of the social insurance funds can also be reduced through cost-cutting measures. The two self-governments will have to decide on the methods. The subsidy of drug prices and the range of people entitled to public health care will probably be reduced, the system of retirement through disability will be revised, debt collection will be strengthened, as will the supervision of entitlement to sickness pay.

According to Bokros, the key figures of the 1996 guidelines are unchanged. With a Ft6,500-billion GDP, the state administration's deficit is defined at 3.5 to 4 percent of the GDP, while the current account deficit is 2 to 2.5 billion. (When the economy operates normally, an automatic capital inflow of 2 billion can be expected.) The 1996 budget deficit is Ft132 billion, without privatization incomes. This is almost 30 billion more than was contained in the previous proposals, but from the excess it will be possible to consolidate the Hungarian State Railroads and to give extra support to agriculture. They wish to bring inflation down to

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around 25 percent. To achieve this, one condition is that salaries should only be increased in the budget-run areas if staffing is reduced. Due to the launching of the reform of the state administration, the deficit of the social insurance funds will increase by some Ft20 billion, but this is unavoidable.

Conversion to Voluntary Armed Forces Analyzed

95CH0293A Budapest UJ HONVEDSEGI SZEMLE in Hungarian May 95 pp 102-105

[Article by Dr. Karoly Csabai and Dr. Lajos Moricz: "Toward a Volunteer Armed Force"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *The intention to change the military recruitment system of Hungary—presently based on compulsory military service—has already been voiced in the course of the system change. The 1990 government program set a goal for the more distant future (at that time scheduled to be attained at about the millennium), which called for the establishment of a "professional" armed force, i.e., an armed force consisting of soldiers who serve voluntarily. Quite naturally, the program was not—could not be—developed in detail. For example, no position, whatsoever, has been taken as to whether compulsory military service should be retained or discontinued. It seems likely, however, that the concept advanced in 1990 would have retained compulsory military service along with the establishment of a professional armed force; this is also suggested by the fact that the scope of the basic program concept was subsequently weakened, calling for the "strengthening of the professional character of the armed force."*

No reference to the establishment of a professional armed force—i.e., an armed force composed of citizens voluntarily reporting for military service—can be found in the program proclaimed by the government that took office in 1994. At the same time, however, on 20 August 1994 the minister of defense declared that, insofar as the future was concerned, the goal would be to develop a professional armed force.

* * *

"We believe that we can realistically expect to reach the point where we have an army like this, some time between the years 2005 and 2010. This, however, does not mean that we would not have to call upon the entire populace of the country in case of an armed conflict. This country could have a well-prepared army of between 50,000 and 60,000 professional soldiers, with outstanding combat equipment. These troops would be capable of halting, containing offensive forces during the initial period of combat activities, but quite obviously, residents in the theater of war would have to perform appropriate tasks in the framework of a reserve system to be established at that time, in order to defend their own land, their outlying farms, and their cities."

Making the minister's visions a reality requires a total revamping of the entire military recruitment system.

International Experience

It is highly probable that the end of opposition between the East and the West also brings to an end the era of armies composed of a mass of personnel. While conditions that had prevailed previously justified the maintenance of large armed forces from both a military and a political point of view, management of a new, multipolar general conflict situation requires a smaller, faster, and more mobile armed force, one that is more flexible from the standpoints of both organization and operations. It seems that due to its organizational structure and personnel recruitment system based on compulsory military service, a mass army could not fulfill these requirements. As a result of this, general, compulsory military service is increasingly becoming the subject of criticism based on military, political and social considerations, as that can be seen from examples provided by Belgium, Holland, and other European countries.

As a result of the cessation of a direct military threat—a threat that could be sensed by citizens—it is becoming politically increasingly difficult to persuade modern, individualist societies to accept the need for compulsory military service. The number of persons not wanting to serve or refusing to serve is on the increase on an international scale; in some countries the number of objectors already amounts to between 20 and 40 percent of persons of military age. A League of Persons Opposed to Compulsory Military Service has also been established in Hungary; it recommends termination of compulsory military service, and a transition to a volunteer armed force within a short period of time (four years). The number of persons seeking to discharge their duty in the form of civilian service is increasing year after year; in 1994 there were 1,500 persons who wanted to perform civilian service, while the number of those refusing to perform any service was 200.

Advantages, Disadvantages

These problems make it necessary to place the entire military recruitment system on new foundations. Two basic alternatives are available under present conditions in this regard: a system based on volunteering, and a militia system. Many people recommend a transition to a volunteer armed force, when given a choice between the two systems. They argue that a permanent, standing armed force provides a more appropriate response to

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requirements posed by new conflict situations, than a traditional armed force, based on compulsory military service.

Termination of the compulsory, forced character of the performance of military tasks, and its replacement by a voluntarily agreed-to performance of sophisticated requirements could be listed among the advantages of a volunteer armed force. The ratio of the time spent on basic and specialized training would be reduced within the total service period, and the professional, competent application and handling of high-value military equipment would improve. This would also improve combat efficiency and would extend the useful life of these implements. The 1982 Falkland War and the 1991 Gulf War convincingly proved the advantages of volunteer armed forces: In these wars smaller armed forces equipped with more modern military technology defeated, within a relatively short period of time, larger armed forces recruited on the basis of compulsory military service.

The disadvantages of volunteer armed forces—such as the limited opportunity to significantly expand the military organization, the fact that the societal obligation to defend the country is being turned into the function of a certain stratum, the significant increase in military personal service costs, and the difficulties of maintaining an appropriate number of volunteers—can be resolved as a result of appropriately considered measures, and in due regard to the interests of the national economy. In countries maintaining volunteer armed forces the numerical ratio within the populace of personnel serving in the armed forces is smaller, and the per soldier personal service cost is significantly larger than in countries maintaining compulsory military service systems.

Doubtless, the idea of having a volunteer armed force raises countless questions. To what extent would an armed force like this be competitive in the labor market? Would an adequate number of capable volunteers report for duty, or would the volunteer army become the gathering place for inappropriately trained persons, for the lower echelons of society? To what extent do volunteer armies reflect the structure of society? Both Great Britain and the United States—countries which have maintained volunteer armed forces for a long time—still seek appropriate answers to most of these questions.

Those who would prefer to see an armed force functioning on the basis of a militia system invoke the examples provided by Switzerland and Austria, and argue that maintaining compulsory military service in this form is the least burdensome to society, while the country can still be defended. From among the 140 countries we examined, 101 countries recruit their military personnel based on compulsory military service, and 49 on the basis of volunteering. Only Great Britain (since 1962) and Ireland have volunteer armed forces in Europe. Belgium and Holland have suspended compulsory military service in 1994, and will rely on fully volunteer armed forces beginning in 1998.

Foreign specialized literature has this to say about the advantages and disadvantages of the two forms of recruitment:

—armed forces recruited on the basis of compulsory military service (consisting of persons of military age, and of officers and noncommissioned officers voluntarily agreeing to perform military duty) exist in countries which regard compulsory military service as an organic part of the duties of citizens, as a fair manifestation of carrying the related burden, and which still believe that external aggression against the country can be repulsed only by an armed force recruited in response to mobilization, the size of which significantly exceeds the size of the armed force maintained in times of peace;

—countries having volunteer armed forces (consisting solely of professional and contractual soldiers) justify their chosen way of military recruitment with the use of a smaller number of personnel equipped with more modern technical implements, with the more developed state of their economy, with opportunities to finance large-scale military expenditures, and with their respective populations' sense of duty to perform military service.

Conditions for Transition in Hungary

In due regard to the favorable change in Hungary's international position and Hungary's hoped-for recovery from the protracted national economic crisis, and because of the already evident unfavorable trend in public attitudes toward compulsory military service, we feel that a volunteer armed force with substantially fewer people and less weaponry could be established, conditioned by certain military policy, economic, and social policy considerations.

From among the military policy conditions we regard substantive improvement in our relations with neighboring countries, and actual NATO membership as the definitive factors, because these factors would eliminate the need for Hungary to consider the possibility of being attacked by any country, and would permit Hungary to prepare for only lower level, lower intensity provocations and armed actions. Requirements and tasks related to the armed forces could be established on the basis of these conditions.

From among the economic conditions, the need to appropriate resources commensurate with the tasks

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assigned to the armed forces is the definitive factor. While any country's level of economic development—the standard of living enjoyed by the populace—is indicated by the size of its per capita GDP, the state of the art character, the developmental level of an armed force is best indicated by the amount of the per soldier annual defense appropriation. In the most highly developed armed forces (of the United States, Great Britain and Canada), this sum amounts to between $130,000 and $150,000, and in armed forces at the stage of medium development, (such as the armed forces of Germany, France and Belgium) to between $50,000 and $100,000. In Hungary the per soldier annual defense appropriation amounts to $6,600. This does not mean, of course, that only well-developed armed forces can be transformed into volunteer armed forces. In Ireland, for instance, the per soldier annual appropriation amounts to $42,000. We believe that in due regard to the economic conditions of Hungary, and to the average income earned by the populace, a transition to a volunteer armed force could be made even if present appropriations were only doubled or quadrupled.

The need to increase the budget flows primarily from the higher pay (10 times the amount of the present pay of an enlisted man) of contracted soldiers, as a result of which the present annual maintenance expenditures per enlisted man (200,000 forints) would at least double, if we contracted soldiers. Consistent with this, the ratio of personal service expenditures within all military expenditures would increase from the present 50 percent to 60 percent. Excess expenditures would, of course, increase as a result of the future transition to more modern military equipment. Beside increasing military appropriations however, excess expenditures could be defrayed by reducing the present number of personnel by half, and by substantially reducing the number of military equipment. In Belgium, too, the transition to a volunteer armed force is being accomplished by reducing the present, 87,000-men armed force to 40,000 men, and by a 50 percent reduction in military equipment, while leaving the level of military appropriations (98 billion Belgian francs) unchanged.

The fundamental social policy consideration is that a sufficient number of young Hungarians, fit to perform military duties, volunteer for military service. Available historical and present-day experience indicates the following: Between 1920 and 1930 it was possible to attract only between 50 and 60 percent of the needed volunteer personnel, the balance was enlisted by secret drafting, or forced recruitment, so called. Most recent sociological research indicates that 75 percent of Hungary's populace would not enter the professional service, and 50 percent of the population took positions favoring the termination of compulsory military service. So far we managed to attract only half the number of the 4,000 contractual soldiers authorized.

At present we have only two fully volunteer military organizations (an airborne battalion and a peacekeeping company).

Conclusions and Recommendations

In due regard to the above, under favorable conditions a transition to a volunteer armed force in Hungary can be accomplished between the years 2010 and 2015. In such force, the ratio of officers should be reduced from the present 19 percent, to between 10 and 15 percent, the ratio of noncommissioned officers should be increased from the present 11 percent to between 15 and 35 percent, and the ratio of enlisted men should be reduced from the present 69 percent to between 50 and S70 [as published] percent. General, compulsory military service could be terminated at that point. Certain parts of the obligation, including the length, method, and financial conditions of enlisted military service could be modified earlier.

The system by which the personnel of a volunteer armed force is trained is significantly different from the system used in training an armed force based on compulsory military service. The difference manifests itself in the acceptance of applicants pursuant to specific criteria, in the many-sided, broader scope of personnel training, in mastering the handling of military equipment, and in the constant maintenance of physical fitness, all of which manifest themselves in the higher combat value of a given military organization. It would be appropriate to formulate the Hungarian military training system in light of these considerations, (for example, by establishing training bases for new recruits and for specialized foundation studies, and by introducing new methods for, and forms of training).

Simultaneously with the transition to a volunteer armed force, it would be appropriate to also establish a system that ensures the availability of a reserve force needed to supplement the volunteer armed force, and to defend the territory. In our view, the reserve force should also be composed of volunteers only. Local and county government organs established for the purpose of performing area defense tasks would have the integrated responsibility of performing both military and civil defense tasks. (The volunteer National Guard in the United States operates in a similar fashion, and the 1848 National Guard in Hungary also had the same character.)

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Armed Forces Cuts Planned

LD2507192195 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1600 GMT 25 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Defense Ministry is preparing for further personnel cuts. Chief of Staff Sandor Nemeth told the army interest coordination council that the present 91,000-92,000 personnel will be reduced to 85,000 this year. The number of conscripts to join the army in August will be cut by 3,000. Military command levels will be reduced and some units will be wound up. The Defense Ministry draft on reductions concerning conscripts and public employees will be submitted to parliament in September.

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War Crimes Tribunal Indicts 24 Persons

AU2507154195 Paris AFP in English
1510 GMT 25 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Hague, July 25 (AFP)—The 24 people indicted by the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia on Tuesday [25 July] are the following:

- Radovan Karadzic, president of the self-declared Bosnian Serb Republic based in Pale;
- Ratko Mladic, commander of the Bosnian Serb Army;
- Milan Martic, president of the self-declared Serb Republic of Krajina comprising Croatian Serb-held land in Croatia.

At the Keraterm detention camp in western Bosnia:

- Dusko Sikirica, commander
- Damir Dosen, shift commander
- Dragan Fustar, shift commander
- Dragan Kulundzija, shift commander
- Nenad Banovic, guard or interrogator
- Predrag Banovic, guard or interrogator
- Goran Lajic, guard or interrogator
- Dragan Kondic, guard or interrogator
- Nikica Janjic, frequent camp visitor
- Dusan Knezevic, frequent camp visitor
- Dragomir Saponja, frequent camp visitor
- Nedjeljko Timarac, frequent camp visitor
- Zoran Zigic, frequent camp visitor

At the Samac Bosanski detention camp:

- Slobodan Miljkovic, deputy commander of Serb paramilitary unit, "Grey Wolves"
- Blagoje Simic, president of the local Serb democrat party
- Milan Simic, local politician
- Miroslav Tadic, local politician
- Stevan Todorovic, chief of police in Bosanski Samac
- Simo Zaric, supervisor of Serbian territorial defense unit

At the Brcko camp in northern Bosnia:

- Goran Jelisic, commander of Luka camp
- Ranko Cesic, person in position of authority at Luka camp.

Further on Tribunal Indictments

AU2507134895 Paris AFP in English
1257 GMT 25 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Hague, July 25 (AFP)—The International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia on Tuesday [25 July] formally charged Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic and military chief Ratko Mladic with genocide and crimes against humanity.

The tribunal's chief prosecutor, South African Judge Richard Goldstone, said the charges bear on "acts committed from April 1992 against the Moslem and Croat populations of Bosnia," who were "persecuted for national, political and religious motives."

Another 22 people were named in the indictment, including Milan Martic, president of the self-declared Serb Republic of Krajina comprising Croatian Serb-held land in Croatia. Martic is accused of responsibility for the May 2 bombing of Zagreb.

Karadzic and Mladic were charged with "the internment of thousands of people in camps where they were subjected to bad physical and psychological treatment" and where they were exposed to "inhuman conditions."

Goldstone also accused them of having shelled numerous groups of civilians, of pillage, the destruction and appropriation of property, and the destruction of sacred sites.

They are also accused of ordering the hostage-taking of 284 UN peacekeepers in June and "using them as human shields to avoid new NATO airstrikes."

In addition, the pair are implicated "through their actions or their nonintervention" in ambushes in Sarajevo that claimed a large number of civilian lives.

Bosnian authorities have previously said that they would cooperate fully with the tribunal, which was set up by the UN Security Council, and turned over to the court a case they had initiated against Karadzic and Mladic.

UNHCR Reports Forced Labor at Serb Camp

AU2507184395 Paris AFP in English
1823 GMT 25 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Geneva, July 25 (AFP)—Some 2,300 Moslem soldiers who survived the Bosnian Serb onslaught of Srebrenica are doing forced labor in a Serb camp, the UN refugee body said here Tuesday citing witnesses.

The soldiers were being held in a labour camp at Batjkovici near the front line, said John Redmond, a

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spokesman for the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR).

The reports come from refugees who had been expelled from the northern Bosnian town of Bijeljina in a wave of ethnic cleansing, Redmond said.

Refugees who managed to reach another UN safe area, Tuzla, told AFP of mass executions during the Bosnian Serb mopping-up operation in the fallen enclave, but these could not be independently confirmed.

Srebrenica fell on July 11.

According to the UNHCR, some 30,000 former inhabitants of Srebrenica are currently being sheltered in Tuzla and another 5,000 to 10,000 were reported missing.

Silajdzic, British Ambassador View London Summit

AU2507185895 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 25 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Haris Silajdzic, head of the Government of the Republic and the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, today received the British ambassador to Bosnia-Herzegovina, Brian Hopkinson. The British ambassador conveyed to the prime minister the view of his government that the London meeting will affect positively the course of events in Bosnia-Herzegovina. This is why the British Government is not satisfied with the critical stand of the Bosnian Government toward the results of the London meeting.

Prime Minister Silajdzic stressed that our government considers the measures adopted in London as half measures. The conclusion that air strikes will be carried out only in the case of an attack on Gorazde, the Serb terrorists and [words indistinct] understood as a signal to attack other protected areas.

This is why, today, civilians are dying in Zepa, Bihac, and Sarajevo, and the international community is not doing anything. It is clear that our government must react to that, Prime Minister Silajdzic said during his talks with the British ambassador.

Silajdzic Calls On Israel To Influence U.S.

TA2507144895 Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT in Hebrew 25 Jul 95 p 18

[Report by Nahum Barne'a from Sarajevo]

[FBIS Translated Text] In an exclusive interview with YEDI'OT AHARONOT from his bureau in Sarajevo yesterday, Haris Silajdzic, the Bosnian prime minister of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzogovina said: "We face a catastrophe. Israel must use its influence in the United States to help us."

The prime minister said he had decided to send his defense and foreign ministers to meet the Jordanian-Israeli planes carrying humanitarian aid when the aircraft land today in Split in Croatia. The Bosnians know that Minister Sarid is due to arrive on the Israeli plane. There was also a rumor that Rabin would be on the flight.

In addition, the Bosnians would like to purchase weapons from Israel. It is unlikely that the Israeli Government will accede to their request.

In reply to my questions, the prime minister justified the fact that his country has received aid from Iran. "What choice do we have? We need all the help we can get. We are talking about our very existence."

The prime minister also defended the Iranian Government's policy. "You can like their regime or not, but they did not set up concentration camps or engage in genocide. Why are relations with Iran considered such a taboo? They do not cause any problems here."

He confirmed that there were soldiers of Muslim and Arab origin in Bosnia. He put their number at about 100, "or 150 at the very most. Maybe we should have asked for 10 or 20,000 Muslim volunteers from abroad to come and fight here," the Bosnian prime minister said. "Perhaps that is the only language Europe can understand. Until now, we have played by the rules. In Europe this is perceived as weakness."

Silajdzic Briefs Press on Situation in Zepa

AU2507141895 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 25 Jul 95

[Report on news conference by Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic in Sarajevo on 25 July]

[FBIS Translated Text] The difficult situation in Zepa was the reason for today's meeting between Bosnia-Herzegovina Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic and domestic and foreign journalists. The Bosnia-Herzegovina prime minister stated, among other things, the following:

[Begin Silajdzic recording] As you know, the situation in Zepa is very difficult, if not dramatic. The majority of the civilians have withdrawn outside the town because of heavy shelling, and are in the surrounding woods. The population must be evacuated and protected by UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] in order to avoid the massacre that happened in Srebrenica.

President Izetbegovic has sent a letter today to the Security Council in which he demands that an order be given, that a resolution be passed giving an order, to UNPROFOR to evacuate women and children from Zepa, under UNPROFOR's protection, and that the

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Security Council authorize UNPROFOR and General Smith to use force if the convoys with these civilians come under attack. [end recording]

Other UN protected areas, the London declaration and its usefulness, and the possibility of lifting the arms embargo on Bosnia-Herzegovina Army were also broached at the news conference.

Izetbegovic Demands UN Protection

LD2507181595 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 25 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The situation in Zepa is the topic of an urgent session of the UN Security Council today which has been convened at the request of Bosnia-Herzegovina, due to the aggressor's brutal attacks on this UN-protected zone.

A letter from Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, should be read out at the session, in which he says that the population of Zepa, due to incessant shelling by the aggressor, have abandoned the town and are hiding in the surrounding forests.

President Izetbegovic asks the Security Council to order an urgent evacuation of women, children, the sick, and the wounded from Zepa and to carry it out under UN protection. General Rupert Smith should be allowed to use all means including force if the convoy of civilians comes under attack.

After what happened with the protected zone of Srebrenica and after you refused to defend Zepa which you declared a safe area by your resolutions, saving women and children is the minimum that you are obliged to do. Do that without delay, ambiguity, or reserve, President Izetbegovic's letter says.

Cabinet Issues Statement

AU2507184495 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 25 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] We have just received a communique from the cabinet of the president of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which states the following:

In connection with the evacuation of civilian population, the cabinet of Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, is in constant telephone contact with the civilian and military leadership of Zepa, and with the Bosnia-Herzegovina (?mission) in the United Nations in New York in order to secure the safest conditions for evacuation.

The people and the Army follow [words indistinct] and are observing the maximum measures of discipline, the communique from President Izetbegovic's cabinet says.

UN Unable To Confirm Fall

LD2507124995 Paris France-2 Television Network in French 1100 GMT 25 Jul 95

[Telephone interview with UNPROFOR spokeswoman Myriam Sochacki in Sarajevo by unidentified announcer in studio—live]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Announcer] Good morning Myriam Sochacki. Can you hear me?

[Sochacki] Good morning.

[Announcer] Do you have any news to confirm to us the fall of Zepa?

[Sochacki] Absolutely not. We cannot absolutely confirm that Zepa has fallen. What we can say is that the situation in Zepa is confused. Yesterday we had a report from the Ukrainian battalion in Zepa, mentioning an accord which is reported, I repeat, reported, to have been reached between the Bosnian Government forces in Zepa and the Bosnian Serbs, according to which it has been agreed to evacuate the civilian population and hand over the Bosnian Government forces' weapons and equipment under the supervision of the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR].

We contacted Bosnian Government this morning, but it denied that Zepa has surrendered. We thus sent a team of liaison officers to Zepa early this morning. This team has now arrived in the enclave. We are waiting for it to gather enough information to tell us precisely what is the current situation in Zepa. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] Commander, are you still with us live from Sarajevo? Is the situation in Bihac so tragic?

[Sochacki] The situation in Bihac, in the enclave of Bihac, we are talking about the enclave of Bihac and not the security zone of Bihac where our mission is to deter attacks and protect the population, the situation in the enclave of Bihac was very serious on Sunday. Attacks were carried out on all fronts, attacks coordinated by Bosnian Serb forces, Serb forces from Krajina, and the forces of Fikret Abdic.

As you were saying, there has been an advance of between 3-4 km in the enclave of Bihac. The situation has been calm in the enclave of Bihac since yesterday.

[Announcer] Commander, there is a Muslim enclave, Tuzla, which is rarely mentioned. What is the situation there?

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[Sochacki] The situation is currently calm in Tuzla. And since we are taking about enclaves, I must stress that UNPROFOR has not forgotten the enclaves. We have not put a cross on the enclaves and certainly not on Zepa. We will try to clarify the situation there today.

On the other hand, General Smith, the UNPROFOR commander in Bosnia-Herzegovina, is currently meeting with General Mladic, the commander of the Bosnian Serb armed forces, to discuss the situation in Zepa.

[Announcer] So what is the mission of the Rapid Reaction Force, which is essentially to protect UNPROFOR and humanitarian convoys and not enclaves?

[Sochacki] The mission of the Rapid Reaction Force elements which were deployed on the Mount Igman yesterday following the tragic events of Saturday is to protect the peacekeepers. This is a mission of deterrence, but if deterrence is not enough then it will be a mission of response if the peacekeepers are attacked.

[Announcer] The last question, Commander. Explosions were heard on Sunday and yesterday in Pale, the stronghold of the Bosnian Serbs. Have you got any details on the origin of these explosions? Were they caused by bombing or shelling?

[Sochacki] No, we have no information about the explosions reported by the press. We can say, however, that there was in fact a NATO air force presence there, but it was within the framework of normal and routine training mission.

[Announcer] Thank you, Commander. Have a nice day.

UN Says Serbs in Control

AU2507144695 Paris AFP in English 1433 GMT 25 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, July 25 (AFP)—Bosnian Serb troops on Tuesday [25 July] were in control of the UN safe area of Zepa, deserted by Bosnian Government forces, the United Nations said.

UN Protection Force spokeswoman Myriam Sochacki said "UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] can confirm via its people on the ground that the Bosnian army is no longer inside Zepa, but that Serb soldiers on the other hand are in the town."

UN Confirms Bosnian Control

AU2507150595 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 25 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] At a regular news conference, the Bosnia-Herzegovina command of the peacekeeping forces today revoked its statement issued last night on the fall of the protected area of Zepa, which, despite heavy artillery-infantry attacks by the aggressor forces, is being successfully defended by the units of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Zepa is still under the control of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina, UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] spokesman in Bosnia-Herzegovina Alexander Ivanko said. According to a report that was received from the command of the Ukrainian battalion stationed in the Marshall Tito Barracks in Sarajevo at 2000 [1800 GMT] last night, and which quotes a report by [word indistinct] soldiers from [word indistinct], there were indications that an agreement might have been reached on the evacuation of the wounded, sick, and (?civilians) from Zepa, Ivanko said.

In all our contacts with the representatives of the United Nations in [word indistinct], no one has used the word surrender, (?Ivanko) stressed.

UN: Serbs Hold Just One Corner

AU2607120995 Paris AFP in English 1153 GMT 26 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, July 26 (AFP)—Bosnian Serb forces began trucking thousands of civilians from the fallen Zepa enclave Wednesday [26 July], but serious doubts remained over the fate of the men who defended the UN safe area, UN officials said.

Serb buses loaded with women and children refugees began moving early Wednesday towards government-held territory in central Bosnia, a UN spokesman said.

It was a repeat of the Serb's massive expulsion of people from the Srebrenica enclave, another UN safe area in eastern Bosnia overrun by the Serbs on July 11.

A group of some 1,400 refugees reached government-held central Bosnia late Tuesday. There were no draft age men among them.

UN officials said that initial reports of the movement indicated the treatment of these people was better than with Srebrenica, where numerous refugees alleged human rights abuses committed by the Serbs.

"Although this is ethnic cleansing, it is not being conducted as appallingly as it was in Srebrenica. We are getting pretty much unhindered access. We are allowed to draw up passenger lists that are checked at the other end. Things may change today but we hope they will not," Alexander Ivanko, a UN spokesman said.

UN peacekeepers were escorting the buses and a small UN liason team was present in the town of Zepa, Ivanko said. He said the team had reported that the Bosnian Serbs "were keen to ensure that the Zepa

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'cleansing' operation was less offensive that it had been in Srebrenica."

The evacuation of the civilians follows a meeting on Tuesday between the Bosnian Serb Army chief General Ratko Mladic and the commander of UN forces in Bosnia, Lieutenant General Rupert Smith.

UN aid officials said the refugees appeared "in better shape" than expected. 121 women, children and elderly together with 34 wounded were also brought to Sarajevo early Wednesday morning.

"They are generally in better shape than expected. They were not terrified and not as exhausted and generally looked better," UNHCR spokesman Kris Janowski said of those reaching central Bosnia.

Mladic's forces overran the town early Tuesday after a week-long bombardment of Zepa. Ivanko said Mladic had guaranteed the safe departure of civilians but warned that "previously such guarantees have proved to be worthless."

Janowski said: "There's still a lot of reason to be alarmed about the fate of these people."

An additional 60 French, Russian, and Ukrainian UN soldiers were sent to Zepa Wednesday to help monitor the evacuation but only left Sarajevo at midday having been held up by four hours at a Serb checkpoint. They could be expected in Zepa by the afternoon a UN official said.

Ivanko warned that if this additional manpower did not reach Zepa "we would have a very serious problem." Janowski said he expected the entire civilian population to have left the Zepa enclave by Thursday afternoon.

No agreement however appears to have been reached on the fate of the men who defended Zepa from the Bosnian Serb onslaught. Talks were underway just outside Sarajevo between the Bosnian Government and a Serb prisoner exchange commission Ivanko said.

Talks on an exchange of prisoners have continued for the past week without success. One UN official said he did not expect a resolution. "I don't think they will get an agreement. In reality how often have these things worked in the past?" the official asked.

UN officials said that the fate of these men "could become very dire." Though the Bosnian Serb Army is in the town of Zepa, UN officials said: "It is not clear if the BSA (Bosnian Serb Army) control anything more than just one corner of the enclave."

This leaves open the possibility that the Bosnian defenders now in the hills around the town will try and break out from what is left of the enclave for government territory some 40 kilometers (25 miles) away.

Muratovic on Negotiations

AU2507200095 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 25 Jul 95

[Interview with Hasan Muratovic, minister in the Government of the Republic and the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina and president of the State Commission for Cooperation with the United Nations, by Dzevad (?Putipara) in Sarajevo on 25 July—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Correspondent] The negotiations at the airport and the events regarding the evacuation of the civilian population from the protected area of Zepa have been drawing the public's attention all the time. One of the most competent persons to give us information on both these events is undoubtedly Minister Hasan Muratovic.

Mr. Minister, what is the latest information that you can give to the listeners of Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Muratovic] The latest is that General Smith is in Zepa. He has been there since 1600 this afternoon. He has been cooperating with us very well all this time, and he knows exactly what our demands are. He will most certainly convey them to the Serb aggressor side in Zepa, which, as you know, this morning disinformed the public that Zepa had fallen and that they have an agreement on the evacuation of the population.

Regarding our demands that we gave, above all to UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force], and then to the Security Council, which is currently in session as we are talking, we demand that the evacuation of the population be exclusively done by UNPROFOR, and not by the Serbs in any event, because we all very well acquainted with the experience from Srebrenica, as are the residents of Zepa.

Regarding the statement that the Serb aggressor side forwarded to UNPROFOR yesterday, or this morning, and which UNPROFOR has passed on to the media, namely that they have a signed agreement on the handover of Zepa and the evacuation of the population, this information is incorrect. We have informed UNPROFOR about that and told them that every agreement must be confirmed by the Government of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. It could be signed in Zepa by the persons (?authorized) by us, but it still has to be confirmed here so that we can act upon it.

Also, talks are currently being held at the airport between Mr. Masovic and his commission and the Serb commission for the exchange of prisoners of war. A

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few days ago, we were very close to an agreement on the exchange of all for all, including all those detained in Srebrenica. However, the Serbs did not want to discuss this the day before yesterday and yesterday. This morning, we told them that (?we are) ready to renew talks, and they renewed them today.

[Correspondent] New details on the latest events are arriving every minute from the airport, as well as Zepa and New York, as these talks are still in progress.

Defenders To Receive 'Prisoner Status'

AU2507150695 Paris AFP in English 1416 GMT 25 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Pale, Bosnia-Herzegovina, July 25 (AFP)—Bosnian Serb authorities on Tuesday again said the Moslem enclave of Zepa had fallen to their forces and said the enclave's defenders would be given "prisoner status."

"The members of the Moslem army will be given prisoner status and will be exchanged later" for Bosnian Serb fighters held by Bosnian Government forces, said a statement from the press office citing "sources close" to Bosnian Serb authorities.

The statement said the area around the Zepa enclave in eastern Bosnia, a UN safe zone, had been "under Serb forces' control for a week, and since yesterday (Monday) this is the case for Zepa itself."

It said the Serb Army had "deliberately slowed down its advance in this region to avoid (causing) civilian victims," adding that despite this slowdown the "fall of Zepa was inevitable."

The enclave's civilian population "will be able to choose to leave, and in which direction, or to remain in Zepa."

Two weeks ago the Serbs forcibly evacuated more than 40,000 residents from Srebrenica after taking the town on July 11, the first of three UN safe zones targeted by the Serbs in their aim to purge eastern Bosnian of these Moslem enclaves. Zepa and Gorazde are the other two.

In Sarajevo, Bosnian Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic said Tuesday that Bosnian authorities were ready, after negotiations and under certain conditions, to surrender weapons to the UN Protection Force troops in the enclave.

He said the Bosnian Government on Tuesday had asked UN peacekeepers to oversee the evacuation of women, children, the sick and the wounded from the Zepa enclave.

Silajdzic said negotiations were underway on the evacuation of men from Zepa.

The Bosnian fighters could, he said, be evacuated on board UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] helicopters. He said that under UN protection the surrender of these men could be negotiated.

Serbs Start Expulsions

AU2607064895 Paris AFP in English 2147 GMT 25 Jul 95

[Unattributed report: "Serbs Start Shipping Civilians Out of Zepa"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tuzla, Bosnia-Herzegovina, July 25 (AFP)—The Bosnian Serbs shipped a first group of around 1,000 civilians out of Zepa late Tuesday [25 July] after overrunning the Moslem enclave in eastern Bosnia, a UN official said.

A total of 21 buses provided by the Serbs left the enclave around 1900 GMT for the government-held town of Kladanj, said Panos Moumtzis of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees. The buses have no UN escorts, he added.

Kladanj is located 50 kilometers (30 miles) south of Tuzla on a frontline between Moslem and serb forces.

Moumtzis said that from Kladanj, the refugees would be taken to makeshift shelters prepared for them in Zenica in central Bosnia.

He said it was the Serbs who decided the refugees should be taken to Kladanj and then on to Zenica.

Zenica is an industrial town of 140,000 people. Moumtizis said that for the time being it could accept about 1,500 refugees.

The United Nations said the Zepa enclave held between 12,000 and 15,000 people. The Serbs put it at 7,000.

Another UN official said the Serbs planned to ship 5,000 people out of Zepa. The evacuation was delayed because of snags in talks between Bosnian Government and Serb officials, this official said.

After being dumped at the front line following a five-hour bus ride, the refugees will have to walk across 10-kilometers (six miles) of no man's land until they reach Kladanj, where UN officials are waiting with food, water and medical supplies.

The fall of Zepa came two weeks after that of another former UN-declared safe haven, Srebrenica. The Serbs drove 30,000 people out of Srebrenica in what relief officials called the worse incident of ethnic cleansing in the more than three-year-old war in Bosnia.

A UN human rights investigator, former Polish prime minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki, said Monday he had

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detailed evidence of widespread human rights abuses by the Serbs in their seizure of Srebrenica.

Evacuees Arrive in Sarajevo

AU2607073595 Paris AFP in English 0327 GMT 26 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Sarajevo, July 26 (AFP)—The first group of evacuees from the fallen Zepa enclave including 34 wounded arrived in Sarajevo in the early hours of Wednesday [26 July] morning.

The wounded, at least two of them in a serious condition, crossed the no-man's land at Sarajevo airport just west of the city at 3:30 a.m. (0130 GMT) under a heavy UN escort, along with 121 women, children, the disabled, and the elderly in three buses.

Deputy commander of Sector Sarajevo, Colonel Robert Meille, who accompanied the civilians and wounded soldiers from a Bosnian Serb barracks just south of Sarajevo, said: "These people were not in very good condition."

A UN convoy of armoured ambulances and local buses driven by French soldiers collected the group after the Serbs had transported them from Zepa in a series of buses and trucks. Mielle said there had been "no real problems" with the Bosnian Serb authorities during the operation.

The wounded were expected to go to the Bosnian capital's main Kosevo hospital. [passage omitted]

Mielle said the Serbs would bus some 5,000 more civilians from the enclave on Wednesday on their own buses but UN peacekeepers would travel with the vehicles, he said. The rest would be taken out with the help of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR).

The status of the men who have defended the enclave was a different matter, Mielle said. "There is a lot of confusion in Zepa. Some of the men have taken to the hills where they are continuing to fight," he said.

"The Bosnian Army suffered many casualties," he said. [passage omitted]

Buses Bring Refugees to Kladanj

AU2607095195 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 26 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Early this morning, at 0530 [0330 GMT] buses of people exiled from Zepa started arriving at the reception point of Ravne near Kladanj. By 1000, some 1,450 women, children, and elderly men had arrived in 21 buses. Here is a report from Kladanj by Muriz Kreho:

[Begin recording] Here in Ravne everything was already prepared for the reception of these people yesterday, primarily thanks to the [word indistinct] battalion. In addition to the UNHCR teams, there are also the humanitarian organization Feed the Children, [words indistinct], the International Red Cross, British [word indistinct], and three teams of physicians with several ambulances.

The reception of these unfortunate people is going very well and there is organized transport for the elderly and sick to Ravne, as there is 3 km between the front lines.

The first buses to transport these people to the localities envisaged for their accommodation arrived from Zenica at 1000. It is very important to emphasize that the medical condition of a vast number of these people is very good. There is not a single case of (?stress). There is order and excellent organization and the people are satisfied with the manner in which they left Zepa. They all fear for the soldiers who continue to defend Zepa, but at the same time they are happy that the tragedy of Srebrenica has not been repeated.

These brave people have accepted the facts stoically and with dignity. They believe, however, that one day they will return to Zepa [word indistinct]. [end recording]

Tuzla Braces for Refugees

AU2507202195 Paris AFP in English 1950 GMT 25 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Tuzla, Bosnia-Herzegovina, July 25 (AFP)—Tuzla, one of four remaining UN-designated safe areas, braced for an influx of refugees from the fallen enclave Zepa, which was captured by Bosnian Serbs Tuesday [25 July].

Humanitarian organizations operating at the Tuzla airport were told by Bosnian Government authorities early in the day that 5,000 civilians had left Zepa and were on their way.

They were expected to receive some assistance at Kladanj, 50 kilometers (30 miles) south of here, where humanitarian aid groups set up about two weeks ago.

On July 12 the first wave of refugees from the Moslem enclave of Srebrenica went through Kladanj on their way to Tuzla. Srebrenica fell on July 11.

Serbs 'Intentionally' Slowed Advance

LD2507174295 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1717 GMT 25 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Sarajevo, 25 Jul (TANJUG)—The Serb Republic Army has en-

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tered Zepa, the UN Protection Force confirmed today. [passage omitted]

The press office of the Serb Republic Army announced today, SRNA reports, that Zepa has been under the control of the Serb Army since yesterday.

According to the same source, the Serb Army, which has been in control of the area around Zepa for a week now, "intentionally slowed its advance in this region in order to avoid civilian casualties."

The statement says that the civilian population will be allowed "to choose whether they wish to leave, and if so in which direction, or whether they wish to remain in Zepa." [passage omitted]

'Chemical Agents' Forced Withdrawal

AU2507191795 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 25 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The situation in the attacked protected area of Zepa is changing by the minute. Owing to the high concentration of chemical agents used by Chetniks on this front, the fighters of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina took up positions in an organized fashion in the hills overlooking Zepa. The settlement has been abandoned to save the lives of the civilians. The resistance by the Zepa defenders continues.

The international community has turn its back on these people and made it possible for the Chetniks to carry out unscrupulously experiments on live people in this jungle. The fighters of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina intend to do everything they can so that the fate of the Srebrenica residents is not repeated. The legal Bosnia-Herzegovina authorities are trying to secure the maximum security for the civilians who might be evacuated from Zepa.

Serb Civic Authority Expected

LD2507222195 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 2155 GMT 25 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Sarajevo, 25 Jul (SRNA)—Dragan Dragic, deputy prime minister of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic, intimated this evening in a statement to SRNA that "within two or three days" Serb civic authority will be established in the area of Zepa.

"The evacuation of Muslim civilians and soldiers from Zepa who have surrendered is going ahead according to plan, so that in a very short time, most probably in two or three days, the establishment of Serb civic authority in this area can be expected," Dragic said. He was on the spot at the head of a government delegation. [passage omitted]

Croatian Artillery, Tanks Attack Serbs in Bihac

LD2507173095 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1724 GMT 25 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Drvar, July 25 (TANJUG)—Regular Croatian Army units launched Tuesday morning an artillery attack on Bosnian Serb Army positions near Grahovo, the town itself and nearby villages, the press service of Bosnian Serb Army 2d Krajina Corps said.

Croatian Army is using 128-mm multiple-rocket launchers, 155-mm howitzers, and 125-mm and 100-mm tank shells.

The town of Grahovo (southwestern Bosnia) has suffered heavy damages, and shells are also falling on nearby villages.

Croatian artillery and tanks are also attacking the road out of Knin, political center of the republic of Serb Krajina proclaimed in 1991 in the territory of the former Yugoslav Republic of Croatia, via Grahovo, towards the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia.

Croatian infantry attempted Tuesday morning several attacks on Grahovo, Bosnian Serb Army positions on Mala Golija and Glamoc, but all the attacks were repulsed.

In a very short time, Serb combatants succeeded in stopping the Croatian offensive, which was obviously launched in line with the declaration on military assistance to be provided by Croatia to Bosnian Muslims, adopted a few days ago in Split.

The artillery attack prevented the arrival in Grahovo of a convoy carrying humanitarian aid provided by the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC).

Bosnian Serb Army units are strongly repulsing attacks by Muslim and Croatian forces at all other frontlines, TANJUG's correspondents report Tuesday quoting Bosnian Serb Army sources.

Several shells were fired Tuesday on Doboj, central Bosnia, causing further damages to buildings and civilian installations. There has been no peace either at other frontlines in the Doboj region.

Bosnian Serb Army headquarters said Muslim forces were opening heavy artillery fire on Serb military positions from the Muslim enclave of Bihac in northwestern Bosnia, one of the six so-called safe areas, Bosnian Serb Army headquarters said.

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'Joint Aggressors' Step Up Attacks

AU2507182995 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 25 Jul 95

[Report by Mirza Sadikovic from Bihac]

[FBIS Translated Text] The offensive by the joint aggressors from the so-called SAO [Serb Autonomous Region] Krajina on the free parts of the Una-Sana Canton has been stepped up this afternoon. The enemy is launching fierce artillery-infantry attacks on the positions of the 5th Corps and civilian settlements in this region. With efficient and valiant resistance, the fighters of our Army are repelling all Chetnik attacks. Our Bihac correspondent Mirza Sadikovic has the details:

[Sadikovic] Today's [word indistinct] artillery-tank-infantry attack, especially between Bugar, Trzac, Visovac, and Pecigrad. Thousands of projectiles have landed on the defenders' lines, but the attacks by the fascists were repelled through energetic and heroic resistance. As usual, when they are losing on the front, the Chetniks start shelling civilian settlements, and Cazin and the surrounding settlements have been subjected to constant artillery fire.

Another 5,000 residents have been threatened and, judging by everything, they could set off on a new exodus in addition to a similar number of those who have lost their houses in Cazin and Bihac municipalities.

Despite all this, fresh Chetniks forces and new military hardware are arriving in Zeljava, Licko Petrovo Selo, and [word indistinct] Ljeskovac. To conceal aggression from the so-called SAO Krajina, that is, the temporarily occupied territory of Croatia, the Chetniks have also attacked the Bihac front. They even tried several infantry breaches in the Grabez region and the Grmusa-Srbljani plateau.

The mayors of Bihac and Cazin municipalities have sent dramatic appeals to the international community, asking the UN Security Council to send help to house the expelled persons, whose number is rising all the time, and to help the wounded [words indistinct].

5th Corps Says Serbs Attacking

AU2607064095 Paris AFP in English 2307 GMT 25 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Zagreb, July 26 (AFP)—Bosnian forces in Bihac have asked Croatia to act urgently to help them withstand a major Serb offensive on the Moslem enclave on Bosnia's western border, a senior Bosnian officer said Tuesday.

General Atif Dudakovic the commander of the Bosnian 5th Army Corps in Bihac, said on Croatian television that the enclave was under attack by 30,000 men.

He said he hoped to demonstrate the feasibility of military cooperation between Bosnian and Croatian forces.

A 5th Army spokesman questioned by phone from Zagreb Tuesday night, said Serbs from Croatia's secessionist region of Krajina had launched a fierce attack on the town of Bihac, a UN "safe area" in the south of the enclave.

However the spokesman, Damir Midzic, said Krajina forces had not succeeded Tuesday in penetrating into the "safe area" which extends for six kilometres (four miles) round the town. [passage omitted]

Akashi Informed of Movements

AU2607105095 Paris AFP in English 1005 GMT 26 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Sarajevo, July 26 (AFP)—Croatian Government forces looked set to join the struggle to save Bihac from the Bosnian Serbs Wednesday [26 July], as the first refugees from the fallen Moslem enclave of Zepa reached safety.

A UN spokesman said concentrations of Croatian troops had been reported near the Bihac pocket, which has been under attack for six days.

Meanwhile Yasushi Akashi, the United Nations special envoy for former Yugoslavia, said Wednesday he had received word of Bosnian Croat troop movements. "We have indirect reports of troops movements of HVO [Croatian Defense Council] in the north of Livno and we are watching the situation most attentively." [passage omitted]

Serb secessionists troops from Croatia's Krajina region were also reported to be active in the area. [passage omitted]

Two hundred refugees from Zepa arrived in Kladanj Wednesday after an all-night bus journey through Serb-controlled territory. [passage omitted]

The refugees were mostly women and their babies, said UN High Commissioner for Refugees spokesman Panos Moumtzis. No men of combat age arrived, he added.

"The first arrivals were exhausted, starving, and frightened; old people were in tears." [passage omitted]

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8,000 Refugees Reported

LD2507224595 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 2115 GMT 25 Jul 95

[Telephone interview with Mirsad Veladzic, president of the Una-Sana canton in Bihac, northwestern Bosnia, by an unidentified announcer; from the "Picture vs. Picture" program—live]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Announcer] Mr. Veladzic, how many civilian casualties have there been in the past seven days?

[Veladzic] In the past seven days there have been over 50 civilian casualties in the shelling of Bihac town alone.

[Announcer] How many have been wounded in Bihac and Cazin?

[Veladzic] Well, today we have almost 200 wounded in both hospitals, because the hospital in Cazin is linked with the hospital in Bihac, so it operates as one hospital.

[Announcer] According to UN Protection Force sources, it is said that about 300 refugees have arrived in the town of Bihac, but that, if the Serb offensive continues, there could be 30,000 of them soon. Is the figure of 300 refugees right? How many refugees are there in the free area of Bihac?

[Veladzic] We can say that, since the latest offensive, over 8,000 people from the area of the municipality of Cazin have moved deeper into territory closer to Bihac. On the whole, they are currently on the outskirts of the municipality of Cazin. Some of the population have fled to the area of the municipality of Bihac from the area of Izacic and the area of Gata, where there has been intense fighting over the past few days.

Karadzic's Serbs Launch Attacks on Gorazde

AU2607112095 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 26 Jul 95

[Report by Muhamed Hadziahic from Gorazde]

[FBIS Translated Text] The villages of Vitkovici, Mravinjak, Vranici, and Potrkusa in the Gorazde safe haven are again coming under powerful attacks from Karadzic's terrorists. The aggressor is attacking all these territories from [word indistinct], Grabovska Kosa, [word indistinct], and (?Kolarice) with 60-mm mortars, antiaircraft machine guns, and M-84 machine guns. The Gorazde- Mravinjak road is also coming under intense fire from (?Bilijska Kosa).

The Foca Chetniks from (?Lokric) [words indistinct] are intensely attacking Buzim, Grabovac, [word indistinct] and (?Pogarac) with antiaircraft arms.

In the part of the front toward Cajnice, the terrorists of war criminal Radovan Karadzic are shelling (?Tovarlic) from the direction of [word indistinct] with 82-mm mortars and simultaneously use [words indistinct] chemical agents.

The aggressor is firing intensely at Vranovina using 120-mm mortars and antiaircraft machine guns in [word indistinct] and Vis in the Rogatica direction. The aggressor's activity [words indistinct] one girl.

Shell Central Sarajevo, Regroup

AU2607111995 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 26 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] On the Sarajevo front, the Serbo-Montenegrin aggressor has been shelling the center of Sarajevo, as well as the suburbs of Butmir, Azici, and Stupsko Brdo with variable intensity. From their positions in Spicasta Stjena, Karadzic's terrorists on two occasions fired a barrel full of explosives, though without any consequences for the civilians or our soldiers.

Sporadically, the aggressor has been firing all types of weapons at our defense lines on the Crna Rijeka front and at settlements.

The Bosnia-Herzegovina Army has responded in a timely and effective way to all the aggressor's attacks in order to neutralize the enemy's firing positions. It has been observed that the aggressor is continuing to regroup on the Sarajevo front. In certain places the Chetniks have also been stepping up engineering work, reads a statement by the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army Press Center.

EU's Koschnick Favors 'Massive Bombing' of Serbs

AU2407100195 Paris AFP in English 0943 GMT 24 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Warsaw, July 24 (AFP)—The West should "massively bomb" Serb positions in the event of fresh attacks against UN safe ares, European administrator of the Bosnian town of Mostar Hans Koschnick was quoted as saying here Monday [24 July].

"I expect military action and massive bombing against Serbs positions if they again threaten safe areas in Bosnia. The West must show it can do it," Koschnick, leader of the German Social Democratic Party (SPD), said in an interview in the Polish daily GAZETA WYBORCZA.

"I am convinced the Serbs would become less aggressive if they hit against a tough attitude from the West," he added.

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As far as Koschnick is concerned, "Europe has not learnt a thing" since the 1930's. "Nobody in Europe wanted to die for Danzig (Gdansk) in 1939. Today, nobody wants to die for Sarajevo. We have forgotten the most important lesson of the Second World War: totalitarian regimes should be stopped as soon as possible. The longer we wait to defend freedom, the greater the price," [said] Koschnick, a former close political ally of German chancellors Willy Brandt and Helmut Schmidt. [passage omitted]

Views UN Policy

AU2507154295 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 24 Jul 95 pp 114-115

[Interview with Hans Koschnick, EU administrator of Mostar, by an unidentified correspondent; place and date not given: "Gorazde Must Be Held"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [DER SPIEGEL] Mr. Koschnick, do you see the decisions of the Contact Group in London as an empty threat or as a major change?

[Koschnick] It was certainly not a breakthrough, but that was not to be expected. Since the United States insists on its position of only attacking from the air and French President Chirac insists on dispatching his troops to Gorazde, it was clear that, with such different basic positions, only a compromise could be achieved.

[DER SPIEGEL] A compromise that changes nothing? Or do you believe that at least the UN protection zones of Gorazde and Sarajevo are now definitely protected?

[Koschnick] Gorazde must be held in any case. If Gorazde falls, Sarajevo is also in danger. This would mean that the UN has given up Bosnia. But that will not happen.

[DER SPIEGEL] A few air strikes by NATO will have no effect. We have seen that in the past.

[Koschnick] Excuse me, owing to the continuous restrictions by the UN Security Council, what NATO was allowed to demonstrate here were not real air strikes. They were bluffs and, at best, pinpricks. I am certain that to defend Gorazde, different attacks will have to be made.

[DER SPIEGEL] But Moscow seems to veto every military intervention....

[Koschnick] ... we cannot accept the Russian position of only negotiating and always giving in to the Serbs. My assessment is that we must also try to find new ways of negotiations.

[DER SPIEGEL] But how can one negotiate as long as all parties in the former Yugoslavia put their stakes on military decisions? Isn't it really time now to withdraw the UN blue helmets?

[Koschnick] I hope the United Nations will stay. But I am not sure whether this will happen. If none of the parties is ready any more to talk about peace, the UN peace troops no longer have any business to be in the Balkans. The Blue Helmets do not have the mandate or the military means to keep the enemy troops separated. To do that, combat units are required, and this would mean that becoming a party to the war. Which Western country would want that?

[DER SPIEGEL] You are talking about warring parties so neutrally, as if there were no aggressor.

[Koschnick] The United Nations speaks about warring parties.

[DER SPIEGEL] Is that your language, too?

[Koschnick] I say the Serbs were the aggressors, and those who have suffered most in the Balkans are the Muslims....

[DER SPIEGEL] ...for them, probably nothing will change after the London decisions.

[Koschnick] If that were to be the result for the people in Bosnia following the meetings of the Contact Group, then we cannot dare to turn up in the Balkans any more.

[DER SPIEGEL] What would that mean for you as the EU representative in Mostar?

[Koschnick] I could then hardly talk with the Bosnian and Croat population because they would, of course, tell me that the West's decisions only protect criminals. It should be possible for Europe to help restore an order in which the people can live in peaceful coexistence, I do not even say, live peacefully with each other.

[DER SPIEGEL] What should this minimum of coexistence in Bosnia look like?

[Koschnick] The ideal form would be a union of Croats, Bosnians, and Serbs. However, I do not believe the Serbs will join such a union in the foreseeable future. Therefore, one can only strengthen the federation between Croats and Bosnians, and underpin them by means of economic incentives.

[DER SPIEGEL] Why do you place your hopes in a warlord like Croatian President Tudjman who, one and a half years ago, waged a war of aggression against Bosnia along with the Serbs?

[Koschnick] My talks last week with Tudjman and Bosnian President Izetbegovic have shown that both

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have common convictions, at least, today. There are no differences between Zagreb and Sarajevo.

[DER SPIEGEL] Many people in the West believe, however, that Serbian President Milosevic in Belgrade holds the key to peace.

[Koschnick] I think there is an interplay between Milosevic and the military leadership of the Bosnian Serbs in Pale. General Mladic is the link between them.

[DER SPIEGEL] The International Tribunal in The Hague is investigating Mladic for war crimes.

[Koschnick] We should not argue like that. All sides involved in the Balkans have committed war crimes. One cannot conduct peace talks with someone like Milosevic and subsequently bring him before a court.

[DER SPIEGEL] Should one refrain from prosecuting him only because it is opportune?

[Koschnick] There are still some countries in West Europe that believe we need a strong Serbia to have peace in the Balkans. You certainly don't believe that they intend to bring Milosevic before a court, or do you?

[DER SPIEGEL] What role should the Germans play?

[Koschnick] So far, the German side has tried to find out by which economic and diplomatic means one could achieve a peace settlement in the Balkans.

[DER SPIEGEL] Is that enough?

[Koschnick] We cannot be the driving force in the Balkans, our history during World War II prohibits this. But we also caused problems in 1991 by rashly recognizing Slovenia and Croatia, without waiting for our European partners to back this step fully.

[DER SPIEGEL] What conclusions should the Germans draw from this?

[Koschnick] This is precisely the reason we cannot let our neighbors down and, in the event of the Blue Helmets withdrawing, we must make our Tornados available.

[DER SPIEGEL] Is there any resentment in Mostar against you as a German? Are you increasingly noting hatred in the city in which Croats and Bosnians live side by side with one another, or are you seeing indications of hope, opportunities of reconciliation?

[Koschnick] There is hatred in individual cases; for instance, when a child was killed somewhere. But hatred as an essential part of the social structure, there can be no talk about that. However, the people ask me: For how long are you in the West going to look on as we are suffering?

[DER SPIEGEL] What is your answer?

[Koschnick] We should say clearly what we in the West can or cannot do. We should keep our promises and keep to our resolutions, so that we do not always appear as paper tigers. Then we do not always have to apologize for doing too little too late. Then we remain at least credible.

[DER SPIEGEL] You have been in Mostar for precisely a year now. Are you going to celebrate this anniversary?

[Koschnick] No, I don't celebrate. There will be no reception, no invitations. We have not managed to remove the dividing barriers in the people's minds. In any case, I visit both sides of the divided city. I must take care of the people in Mostar.

Koschnick Discusses Mostar Issues, Progress

AU2407111195 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 17 Jul 95 p 8

[Interview with Hans Koschnick, European administrator of the town of Mostar, by Mario Marusic; place and date not given: "My Optimism Has Not Broken Yet, but It Has Diluted a Bit"]

[FBIS Translated Text] European administrator Hans Koschnick and his associates from the European Union have already been working for 12 months on the "Europeanization" of Mostar. The expiration of the first half of the mandate is an occasion to review what has (not) been done and for an interview with Koschnick. However, not only about that, because the European administrator is an expert on the situation in the territory of the former Yugoslavia and the whole of southeastern Europe, so he has also given his appraisal of the current situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina, that is, of the continuation of Serbian aggression and of the explosion of some permanently established myths about the (un)righteousness of the big toward the small, when their interests in this part of the world are not directly endangered.

[Marusic] The latest events in Bosnia-Herzegovina, particularly around "the UN safe havens" in eastern Bosnia, have pushed the "Europeanization" of Mostar into the background. Therefore, to begin with, what is your comment on the events around Sarajevo, and Srebrenica, Zepa, and Gorazde?

[Koschnick] Regarding the people and the hopes placed on the United Nations, it is very bad. Because they have never been told the plain truth. The UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] is deployed on the demarcation line at the request of all warring sides and in order to prevent the further spreading of the war. No unit has been sent

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over here to take sides, and it has always been clear that the UNPROFOR units do not represent combat forces. Their arms and planned objectives exclude their engagement in combat, except in self-defense. The safe havens, proclaimed by the UN to supply the refugees better in food and medicines, had earlier been presented that way, as if the people in them could live safely, under protection. However, it was not stated in that way. Such protection is possible only if the warring sides are willing to refrain from a resumption of shooting. And the people suffering now thought that just being in a safe haven meant that they could live safely. Now they can see relative danger, or concrete danger, like in Srebrenica and Zepa. What happens with the other safe havens depends upon whether one of the sides in the conflict decides to begin new military operations.

People are now asking themselves what they can lean on, what to rely on. Of course, they are not satisfied if I give them my personal answer; they want to be assured by those who are in charge. Those were the reasons that gave rise to my visit to Spain this week, beside my talks with President Tudjman and President Izetbegovic (I already talked to President Zubak last week). I will try to make the Spaniards, within the circle of the European Union (EU) countries, advocate a clear and distinct stand. Their stand will probably not be the one expected by the people here, but if it is clear and unambiguous, then we will certainly know what our position is. Vague answers and resolutions that are not accepted even by those who pass them themselves, can only result in constant distrust.

Prelude to Final Division?

[Marusic] How will the latest events affect the situation in the Federation, the situation in Mostar? Besides, how realistic is the assumption that what is at issue is in fact the new beginning of the mass resettling of the population, with the tacit approval of the international community, as a prelude to the division of Bosnia-Herzegovina?

[Koschnick] The United Nations forces can operate only within the limits of their mandate, as defined by the Security Council. And the range of their tasks is very limited. Concrete actions, which would exceed self-defense, always require that new decisions be made, which becomes ever harder to achieve because the interests of the countries, members of the Security Council, are not the same. Not only civilians suffer, but also Blue Helmets, who are trying to prevent, that is, to appease war activities. Now we have got the intervention forces, which are currently being built up and are still not able to react, but they might be soon. By following military logic, I can see, under specific political conditions in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the possibility of using them within and around Sarajevo. However, anyone who knows the region and its topography well, will not be cheered by the fact that the intervention forces cannot go to Srebrenica or Zepa. So, we are talking about limited possibilities of use, to secure the rest of UNPROFOR, to prevent UNPROFOR from getting into an even worse position. Meanwhile, there may be different opinions about that. If I were a citizen of Sarajevo and if I had been living in that cauldron for more than 1,000 days, in the prevailing conditions, I would also have a different opinion, my appraisals would be different from those made from a distance, from a position where one can make a rational judgment.

The present situation could be influential in two ways: It could be an opportunity to realize that now both sides really have to stick together in order not to be swallowed by the stronger, and on the other hand, the danger of the thinking of staying on one's own, on the principle of "save your own life if you can and don't think about others." I think that the discussion about the Federation will continue, although the results will be achieved more slowly than I expected. There is still mutual distrust, as well as the fact that whoever is stronger at a certain moment does not want to give up power, and whoever is weaker cannot conceive of a Federation in which he would not have more than he has now. That is the problem of the Muslims and the Croats in Bosnia, that is the problem of the Croats and the Muslims in Herzegovina. The forthcoming talks between responsible politicians of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina could perhaps bring new initiatives to revive the Federation.

The Federation Is Still Not in Jeopardy

[Marusic] So, the Federation, essentially, has not been especially jeopardized after the latest events?

[Koschnick] No, not yet.

[Marusic] Regardless of less and less space, and more and more people coming to live in that territory?

[Koschnick] If the consequence of the occupation of the enclaves were that the entire Muslim population were exiled from the attacked enclaves, and came to the territory of the Federation and the Federation were overburdened because of the receipt of those additional people, then the question would perhaps arise as to whether relations between the Croatian and Muslim people would change as well. That could be a cause for the subsequent endangering of the Federation. At the moment, it is just a theoretical question, but,

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unfortunately, it could also become a bitter truth. I hope it will not.

[Marusic] How does the announcement of the U.S. unilateral lifting of the arms embargo "fit" into this?

[Koschnick] I would be glad if I could give you a clear answer to what the real intention of the United States is. I know President Clinton's position, and that of both houses of the American Congress, and I know that their stands are to a large extent based not upon foreign policy quarrels, but upon internal policy disagreements. No Croat and no Bosniak will ever have any use for internal policy disputes in Washington. They really do not feel the problems in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Marusic] A couple of days ago, you said that the economic sanctions against Serbia should be strengthened.

[Koschnick] I do not believe that any international military intervention will bring about a peaceful solution in the Balkans. Historical experience goes against it, as well as the topographical situation, and the character of the three nations involved in the fighting, as regards a readiness for conflict in the long term. My conceptions have always been based upon the fact that, when Yugoslavia collapsed, we would have to accept what the nations asked for themselves, for the organization of their own states. Nobody from abroad should direct how people here should live. I also advocated the idea that those who deliberately violate state borders should be excluded from international trade exchange. Should a cut like that be undertaken, not only will the country we have isolated lose, but also the country that until then had been exchanging trade with it. Therefore I have always expressed the opinion that, if there are clear lines of embargo, then the countries that respect the embargo and suffer because of it, should be given compensation from us.

European Interest in Mostar

[Marusic] When you arrived in Mostar, you said that it would be difficult, but that you were very optimistic. A couple of months later, you said that you were (only) optimistic. What was the reason for that and what is your appraisal of the 12 months of European administration in Mostar?

[Koschnick] It was not easy. My optimism has not broken yet, but in the course of time it diluted a bit. Nevertheless, regarding the basic necessities (water, food, electric energy supply, accommodation...), it is obvious that things have perceptibly improved. Barricades have been removed, a number of bridges have been renewed, as well as schools, kindergartens.... There are clearly visible signs that we are here and that we have taken some steps. Through a program of spring sowing we have managed to revive the Neretva River valley, we have looked to the future and financed small enterprises. We also received some additional funds from the European governments: The English have financed the construction of Tito's bridge, the Germans are financing the construction of two railroad bridges, the Scandinavians are assisting us in the refugee programs, the Swiss have built schools here, food and medicines are coming from Italy and Spain.... All this tells us that Europe is really interested in this project.

Meanwhile, one crucial question has not been solved. Because my task to reconstruct the city was linked with another task, to bring the people back together in order for them to live again in one common city, we have not moved far from the beginning, regarding the organization of a common police force, the freedom of movement within city limits for all the citizens, a common fight against crime. However, there are several signs of positive changes, first of all, joint talks between the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community] and SDA [Party of Democratic Action] under my observance.

[Marusic] What is the political future and organization of Mostar? How can the opposite viewpoints of the Croats and the Muslims be reconciled on that issue?

[Koschnick] I will be glad to answer this question next month. I will talk to Presidents Tudjman and Izetbegovic, and then talk about it all again with President Zubak. At the beginning of August, I will also meet with the delegations of HDZ and SDA, and the subject we will discuss will be the same, the future organization of Mostar.

[Marusic] What do the authorities of the eastern part of Mostar hold against you, and how do the authorities in the western part, regarding the implementation of the Memorandum on Mutual Understanding, that is, regard your work?

[Koschnick] The eastern part of Mostar reproaches me with listening too much to the opinions and suspicions of the western part of Mostar, although the Memorandum gives me other rights. And in the western part they reproach me with only getting involved with the eastern part of Mostar, because only they would take advantage of united work, while the Croats would not. That is the famous situation "caught in the cross fire."

[Marusic] What will you consider as (not) a success at the end of your mandate in July 1996?

[Koschnick] If, at the end of the mandate, there were no freedom of movement and no agreement about how to behave together, fit into one town, of course, respecting the special qualities of national and cultural identity, then I would consider that as the failure of my mission.

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I hope it will be different. And I know that some citizens will tell me that I was doing my job well, but that it was not enough, that Europe should try better.

Pale's Buha Reiterates Demand for Recognition

AU2607120195 Belgrade TELEGRAF in Serbo-Croatian 19 Jul 95 pp 9-10

[Interview with Aleksa Buha, foreign minister of the Bosnian Serb Republic, by Olivera Miletovic; place and date not given: "We Did Not Imprison the Dutch Soldiers but Merely Evacuated Them Safely From the Cross-Fire Area, and Those From Bratunac Do Not Wish To Return to Srebrenica"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Miletovic] Will the leadership in Pale continue to insist on international recognition for the Serb Republic as an independent country or is it still possible that the Serb Republic would agree to enter a confederation or union with the internationally recognized Bosnia-Herzegovina?

[Buha] In the negotiations and talks with the international mediators we long ago formed a list of our priorities as regards a political solution. Our priority and ultimate goal is unification with Serbia, that is, the creation of one country of all the Serbian lands. If the international community in the present constellation of powers does not endorse this, we shall demand to join the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia as a federal unit. Finally, if this community does not allow the second option either, then we will seek international recognition of independence and sovereignty. In such a case, the right to a confederal link with Yugoslavia would have to be reserved for the Serb Republic, as it has already been acknowledged to the so-called Bosniak-Croatian Federation with the Washington documents of March last year. The chief patrons of the phantom state called the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the godfathers of the so-called Bosniak-Croatian federation and its confederation with Croatia can then figure out what this "Union of Bosnia-Herzegovina" would look like afterward.

[Miletovic] Do you believe that there can be neither freedom nor democracy without sovereignty and independence?

[Buha] I truly believe that conditions for lasting freedom and democracy cannot be secured in this historically turbulent region without a sovereign and independent national state.

[Miletovic] Is there any force that could prevent the Serbs in the Serb Republic from achieving these goals?

[Buha] There is no force that could make these people falter in their intention to be their own masters in a political sense, too. However, unfortunately, there are historical categories that are stronger than psychological terms such as faltering. [passage omitted]

[Miletovic] Certain political circles in Belgrade actually do not believe that unification between the Serb Republic and Yugoslavia will ever take place, primarily owing to ideological differences. The leadership in Pale is criticized for rehabilitating the Chetnik movement.

[Buha] The unification of the Serbian lands must take place. It must, because such is the natural tendency of all parts of the Serbian national body. It must, because this is the precondition for its survival. The fact that certain antinational, universally philanthropic but essentially anti-Serbian circles babble ominously about allegedly unreconcilable differences only proves their insufferable corruption. Germany waited 45 years for unification.

Also, we have never explicitly supported or rehabilitated either the Chetniks or the partisans. On the contrary, the Serbian Democratic Party has worked to overcome this division from the beginning, as the Serbian tradition is richer and older than that of the divided factions of World War II. This tradition must be revived, just as in any normal national community, and used as a prism of our collective national experience, through which must be reflected all the experiences and comprehensions of the universal human mind about the reasons for and the meaning of the life of each individual, about his relations with others, about nature....

In this experience, just as in the universal human mind, religion is an essential component. The Serbian Orthodox Church has played and still plays a primary role in the life of the Serbian nation. This situation must be acknowledged also by those who are not religious in a confessional way, but are and must be religious in a secular way, even if they deny it.

[Miletovic] Do you belong to those politicians who believe that the struggle of the Serbs in the Serb Republic has postponed action in Kosovo and Vojvodina, and perhaps even saved Serbia for good?

[Buha] Even more than that. When I compare the events from the Herzegovina-Bosnian uprising (1875-78) with the present situation, I see the following inevitable scenario. It could happen that our uprising contributes decisively toward the lifting of the sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro and to their international recognition, just as the Herzegovina-Bosnian uprising contributed decisively to the territorial enlargement and achievement of independence for these Serbian

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countries. However, this time it should not go to our own detriment but we should all end up in one state.

[Miletovic] Do you believe that the Rapid Reaction Forces, that is, protection of the Blue Helmets, could actually be intended for action against only one side in the conflict, the Serbs?

[Buha] The role of these forces can mutate into all sorts of things. One of the possibilities is also the one that you mention. However, I hope that the so-called international community has learned some lessons from the bloody Bosnia-Herzegovina affair. [passage omitted]

[Miletovic] There are rumors in some political circles in Belgrade that the rounding up of the refugees from the Serb Republic and the Republic of Serb Krajina was actually agreed between Pale and Belgrade. You would give Belgrade the detained UN Protection Force soldiers and Belgrade would hand over to Pale refugees of the fighting age. Vuk Draskovic has sharply criticized the leadership in Pale for this.... Is there truly an agreement?

[Buha] The political circles in question should first of all get some elementary ideas straight. Since when has the obligation to defend a country been omitted from the holy duties of any member of any nation? Who has transformed desertion into a positive value? The relativizing of everything and everyone must be stopped. Whether the price that you cite was truly paid I do not know. I would not comment on the criticism by the gentleman whom you mention. Namely, I was rendered speechless in this respect a long time ago. [passage omitted]

Questions Benefit of Air Strikes

LD2507195895 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1810 GMT 25 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Sarajevo, 25 Jul (SRNA)—Aleksa Buha, foreign minister of the Serb Republic [RS], today assessed the campaign by individual Western countries to undertake air strikes in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina as an expression of a warmongering logic which cannot contribute to bringing about a just resolution of the conflict.

"What on earth is the idea of air strikes in a civil war, and the untimely stimulation of war instead of peace," Buha wondered in an interview to Serb radio, and he welcomed "the encouraging efforts of the United Nations to resist becoming a pawn of NATO and the United States."

The Serb Republic's foreign minister also welcomed the resolute position of the Russian Foreign Ministry on the achievement of a political solution, and he expressed hope that Russia will not allow the relativization or watering down of its standpoints in the Security Council and in the Contact Group. [passage omitted]

"If the United States unilaterally lifts the embargo [against the Muslims], the last circumspection in the Bosnian conflict will cease to be valid. Such a move will have only a political and psychological effect, but not a military effect," the Serb Republic's foreign minister warned.

According to Buha, instead of Rapid Reaction Forces in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, which can contribute to the escalation of the war, it would be much more appropriate if the international community creates forces for rapid diplomatic activity which would contribute to a political solution.

Commenting on the Split agreement on military cooperation between the governments of Izetbegovic and Croatia, Buha warned that this is yet another element which is causing a political solution to the situation in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina to recede.

"The Muslims and Croats are playing a game of reciprocal manipulation in which there can be no joint gain, because when one looks at the example of Mostar one can see that they are not capable of creating a common town, let alone a common state," Minister Buha concluded in his interview to Serb radio

Karadzic Dismisses Drina Corps Commander

AU2507141595 Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE (Bosnian) in Serbo-Croatian 21 Jul 95 p 5

[Article by Dj. Kozar: "Praises, Then Dismisses"]

[FBIS Translated Text] As the ground crumbles under his feet, war criminal Radovan Karadzic has been making some absurd decisions. Last night he praised the so-called Drina Corps and then replaced its commander.

He had no reason to praise this corps. His Chetniks, aided by units and volunteer scum from Serbia, walked into Srebrenica thanks to the impotence of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force], and then set upon Zepa. Thus they humiliated the United Nations, and, unobstructed, committed massacres in "the protected zones."

Something must have been wrong in the Drina Corps to make Pale pension off Major General Milenko Zivanovic, commander of this formation. True, he has been promoted to a higher rank, but the impression remains that he slipped up somewhere and thus had to be removed quickly. Even the fact that last year his corps tried to raze Gorazde literally to the ground, killing many civilians in the process, did not help the general, nor did the fact that he took Kopaci by force,

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making it into the headquarters of "the Serb Gorazde municipality."

Radoslav Krstic, the new commander of the so-called Drina Corps, was promoted about a month ago to major general. It appears that, as a young nationalist, he is more into criminality than his predecessor. According to some indications, it was he who set up the death camps in Srebrenica, in which several thousand men of military age, and some boys between 12 and 14, are interned.

Following Gen. Stanislav Galic (of the so-called Sarajevo-Romanija Corps), and Grujo Boric (of the so-called 2d Krajina Corps), Zivanovic is the third corps commander to be replaced by Karadzic, although the former two are still on active service.

Rebel Muslims Proclaim State in Bihac Enclave

LD2607121495 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1153 GMT 26 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Petrovac, 26 July (TANJUG)—The Republic of Western Bosnia was proclaimed in Velika Kladusa today, Velkaton radio has said.

The proclamation of the republic represents "the outcome of a sequence of events and all the suffering that the local people have gone through," the same radio says. At the same time the radio recalls the exodus under the terror of 5th Corps, life in exile, and the return home.

The Republic of Western Bosnia has grown out of the Autonomous Province of Western Bosnia which was proclaimed on 27 September 1993, Velkaton says.

This "crowns the successes of the People's Defense units and it is an expression of aspirations of the western Bosnia people to be the masters of their own fate. It is a victory for peace over war and a victory for stability in this region and a longing for a peaceful life and coexistence with the neighbors," the Velika Kladusa-based Velkaton radio says.

An 11-point declaration was adopted at a ceremony of proclamation.

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Serbs Report Troops Massing Along Borders

LD2507171195 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1624 GMT 25 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Knin, 25 Jul (TANJUG)—Croatian Armed Forces have continued attacking, engaging in provocations, and amassing new troops along the Republic of Serb Krajina borders and Serb defense lines, says a statement released today by the General Staff of the Serb Krajina Army.

Croatian Army members opened small arms fire towards Zemunik Gornji, while on Mount Dinara they opened fire from antiaircraft guns, the statement says.

The Serb military sources say that Croatia is amassing new troops on the Obrovac and Drnis front; tank unit movements have been registered in the area of Vrlika. Croatian troops have been observed moving from Zagreb toward Karlovac.

In Banija and Kordun, the Croatian forces engaged in armed provocations against Serb Krajina Army units; on the eastern Slavonia and Baranja front, the Croatian Air Force is flying over Serb civilian and miiltary targets.

The Croatian Army shelled with mortars of largest caliber the broad area of the village of Kopacevo, the statement says.

Army Launches Attack on Roads

LD2507152695 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1428 GMT 25 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Drvar, 25 Jul (TANJUG)—Since this morning units of the Army of the Republic of Croatia have been launching artillery attacks on positions of the Army of the Serb Republic (VRS) on the approaches to Grahovo, on Grahovo itself, and on nearby civilian facilities.

The regular Croatian Army is using 128-mm multiple-rocket launchers, 155-mm howitzers, and 125- and 100-mm tank shells. The town of Grahovo itself has suffered a great deal of damage, and shells are also landing on outlying villages.

The road leading from Knin to Serbia and Yugoslavia and further afield via Grahovo is also being targeted by Croatian artillery and tanks. Traffic is still moving along this road, although all travelers are being warned that they use the road at their own risk. The heaviest attacks are being directed toward the village of Peulje, 12 km south of Grahovo.

This morning the Croatian Army attempted to launch several infantry attacks in the direction of Grahovo and VRS positions in Mala Golija, and Glamoc. All of its attacks were repelled.

The Croatian offensive is supposed to represent the concrete implementation of a declaration on Croatia's military aid to the Bosnian Muslims adopted in Split a few days ago. However, the Serb fighters soon checked the offensive.

The artillery barrage has also hampered attempts by the International Committee of the Red Cross [ICRC] to deliver humanitarian aid to Grahovo. An ICRC convoy had to return to the village of Peci 10 km west of Grahovo.

Tanks Move Toward Karlovac

AU2507140595 Paris AFP in English 1336 GMT 25 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, July 25 (AFP)—The Croatian Army, witnessed by UN observers, has moved 12 tanks south towards the town of Karlovac, closer to areas held by rebel Serbs, UN spokesman Christopher Gunness said here Tuesday [25 July].

"Yesterday the UN observed 12 tanks being transported by rail south of Karlovac," Gunness said. But he added: "At the same time extreme restrictions of movement were placed on our personnel so we have no more details than that."

Gunness reported tension in the south of the country, near Knin, the capital of the self-declared Krajina Serb Republic, "where the warring factions remain fully mobilised."

Karlovac, about 50 kilometres (30 miles) southwest of Zagreb, is situated on the border of the Krajina region controlled by breakaway Serbs and north of the Bihac pocket in Bosnia.

AFP on Prospects of Croat Intervention in Bosnia

AU2607073295 Paris AFP in English 0104 GMT 26 Jul 95

[Report by Dominique Ferbos: "Croatians Poised To Join Battle for Bihac"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, July 26 (AFP)—Croatia appeared poised Wednesday [26 July] to throw its troops behind Bosnian forces fending off a massive Serb attack on the Bihac enclave in western Bosnia. Concentrations of Croatian Government troops as well as of Serb secessionists from Krajina were reported near Bihac, which has been under attack for six days. Each side has imposed tough restrictions on the movements of United Nations personnel, a UN spokesman said.

Thousands of Croatian troops have been transfered to the border area and tank movements have also been observed near the Bihac battle zone. Similar troop

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movements by Serb secessionists from Croatia's Krajina region which borders on Bihac, have also been reported.

In Washington, U.S. State Department spokesman Nicholas Burns said: "We understand that elements of the Croatian Army have gone into action around Bihac." He said the situation was "quite critical" in Bihac and said the Bosnian Serbs were attempting to divide the pocket "to make it more easily conquerable."

UN special envoy in ex-Yugoslavia Yasushi Akashi said Tuesday that stern warnings had been sent to General Mile Mrksic, the Krajina Serb military leader, and to all the other parties involved following the launch of the offensive on Bihac which is home to 200,000 Moslems.

Until the crisis in Bosnia suddenly escalated this month, Croatia had not been expected to make any military move, "even if it was not satisfied," until the current mandate of the UN force in Croatia came to an end in November, a diplomat confided. But the recent fall of the eastern Bosnian enclave of Srebrenica and the new offensive on Bihac appear to have convinced Croatian leaders that it is time to act.

Croatia has said it reserves the right to intervene in Bihac because it considers the enclave's survival as vital for its own national security. The fall of Bihac would permit the junction of Serb secessionists in both Croatia and Bosnia and would make it much more difficult for Zagreb to recover control of Krajina as it has always vowed to do. The Croats who are not in a position to recapture Krajina in its entirety, are expected to try to break up the territory under Serb control in order to weaken the secessionists.

The Bosnian Serb news agency SRNA reported Tuesday night that Croatian Army units had launched a strong artillery and infantry attack on Serb positions in Grahovo area to the south of Bihac. This operation, which could be designed to ease the pressure on Bihac, may be backed up or expanded with the help of the HVO [Croatian Defense Council], the Croatian militia from Bosnia whose men are deployed on nearby Mount Dinara within artillery range of Knin, the Krajina Serbs's "capital."

UN officials said Croatian and Krajina troops were concentrating near Bihac and that the situation there could deteriorate "very rapidly." Other reports said the railway line between the Croatian towns of Draganic and Karlovac south of Zagreb would be closed Wedneday between 0930 and 2050. The Croatian Army's military training centre of Jasterbarsko is located near Draganic.

HINA news agency said national guard troops had begun donating blood in response to a government appeal.

Croatia has looked increasingly vulnerable since last week as the Serbs, aided by Moslem dissidents from Bihac, have made significant territorial gains in Bihac, according to UN officials.

On Tuesday evening, General Atif Dudakovic the commander of the Bosnian 5th Army Corps in Bihac, said on Croatian television that Croatia should intervene urgently to save the enclave under attack by 30,000 troops. Dudakovic said the 5th Army corps was "in difficulty" but had managed to hold front lines to the south and east of the enclave. However he said the town of Bihac, a UN "safe area" was under strong attack. It is significant that Dudakovic's appeal calling on Croatia to implement its promise of military cooperation with Bosnia came Tuesday at a time of mounting international pressure on the Serbs.

Armed intervention by Croatia would arouse less criticism if its purpose appeared to be to stop the Bosnian conflict spreading westward into Croatia, analysts said.

With hindsight, last week's visits by Croatian Foreign Minister Mate Granic to Iran and Moscow may not be unconnected with Croatia's present moves. It is possible that, in exchange for going to Bosnia's aid, Zagreb secured promises of oil and investments, which it sorely needs to rebuild the country and an economy weakened by high inflation and a fall in tourist earnings.

Biography of Army Chief of General Staff

AU2007153695 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 17 Jul 95 p 2

[Article by Aleksandar Milosevic: "Patriotic and Professional"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In one of the rare interviews he has given in the last five years, Army General Zvonimir Cervenko, the newly appointed chief of staff of the Croatian Army, has, among other things, said: "I am not a man who has been creating history, but I have always responded readily to the call of historical events...." This, of course, primarily reflects Gen. Cervenko's modesty, because, in his 67 years of life, it is history and his contribution to history that he has experienced. Who is Gen. Zvonimir Cervenko, chief of staff of the Croatian Army?

In the former system, he was a professional officer attired in the "Yugoslav Peoples' Army [JNA]" uniform. He was one of the minority, because he was a Croat. The Croats were not numerous in the JNA and, as a rule, if they wanted to advance, they had to show three times as much knowledge, expertise, and skill as the others.

The expertise of Zvonimir Cervenko has been proved by the fact, that, as a JNA officer, he spent almost

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14 months at school and studying at a prestigious U.S. military colleges. Beside the expert knowledge acquired in that way, he also learned English well, and experienced, on the spot, a different social and political system than the one in Yugoslavia at that time.

Hard Labor for Patriotism

However, Zvonimir Cervenko was and has remained a Croat. He has never hidden his national affiliation and when, in 1971, there were vigorous political movements in Croatia, better known as the "Croatian Spring," he, already a lieutenant colonel, was an active participant in those events. He knew very well that he was exposing himself to personal danger by publicly advocating the patriotic and national interests of his own people, but that was one of the historical challenges that he could not disown. The reaction of the authorities was fast and brutal. Along with tens of thousands of other patriots, Lieutenant Colonel Zvonimir Cervenko ended up in jail. He spent a year and a half in jail because of his national and patriotic aspirations. After he was released, the persecution continued.

One of the most capable and expert officers in the then Army District of Zagreb was denied the right to retire. He was deprived of his right to retirement, as well as his right to work. For almost two years, Zvonimir Cervenko and his family lived from hand to mouth, hardly making ends meet, assisted by a couple of sincere friends who had not been afraid not to severe with them, because as a "Croatian nationalist," Cervenko and his family were stigmatized permamently in the former system.

They remained unbroken. He remained proud and has never given up his national and political convictions. He remained modest, considering himself to be just a small part in the mosaic of his nation.

Chief of Defense of Zagreb

When democratic changes occurred in Croatia, President Tudjman remembered his long-time acquaintance and associate Zvonimir Cervenko, and offered him high political and military duties. He declined them modestly (he has talked about it in a television interview), and said that he placed himself, with his knowledge and abilities, at the disposal of Croatian authorities but that he did not want any political functions. Thus, instead a minister, Zvonimir Cervenko becomes the chief of defense of the town of Zagreb. It was the right thing to do; the right man in the right place. Because dramatic events were approaching; the capital of Croatia, as well as the whole of Croatia, had to be prepared for defense against the coming danger of the Serbo-Chetnik army. Zvonimir Cervenko accomplished the organization of the defense, the collection of weapons, the blockade of the JNA barracks, the organization of units, and everything else that he was charged with in the best possible way.

His assistants during that period remember that he often slept in his office, visited units, and went to the places that were most exposed to danger. However, even in the most difficult situations, he never raised his voice; he always addressed soldiers and associates in a tender, friendly way, like a father. He was strict, but primarily toward himself. He never ordered someone to do something he would not do himself.

The successful defense of Zagreb, the capital of all Croats, is, to a large degree, Zvonimir Cervenko's merit. On one occasion, he told his friends and associates that he hoped that he would retire when the war was over, far away from duties and public functions. Meanwhile, his wishes are one thing, and the needs are another. The homeland has not yet been completely liberated, and Zvonimir Cervenko has taken up new duties. From the chief of defense of Zagreb, he was appointed as the defense minister's assistant for the Croatian Home Guard. He works on the organization of the Home Guard, takes care of the units and personnel, and insists that the most skillful receive a good military education because he is aware that, apart from courage and patriotism, expert knowledge also strengthens the defense of the homeland.

Great Expert Knowledge

When working upon the organization of the Croatian Home Guard, he has visited all the parts of the country, and he is welcome in all places from Dubrovnik to Varazdin, from Pula to Osijek.

However, there is one more historical challenge facing Zvonimir Cervenko. By the decision made by the president of the republic and supreme commander of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Croatia, he was appointed the head of the military office of the president of the republic. Discharging this office, he often takes part in the political talks and meetings that President Tudjman holds with numerous foreign officials. It has turned out that, beside great expert knowledge, Zvonimir Cervenko also has a very sharp feeling for political events and quick and analytical judgments, thus fully displaying his great working energy.

And finally, the latest historical challenge: He was appointed the Croatian Army chief of staff. There is no doubt that he, Gen. Zvonimir Cervenko, will persistently and self-denyingly, but also firmly, respond to this new historical temptation. So far, he has shown that a number of times by his life and energy.

And the last, but not least. The citizens of Zagreb can often see Gen. Cervenko alone, without an escort,

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strolling through the streets and squares of the city, riding on a tram, or sitting on the terrace of a cafe, sipping his coffee and talking to his old friends about everyday matters. Although his new office demands much stricter protocol obligations, there is no doubt that Gen. Cervenko will always find some free time for his town and his friends. Perhaps not as much as before, but he will not forget them or give them up, in the same way that he has never given up his patriotism.

French, British, RRF Intentions Questioned

AU2507130195 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 20 Jul 95 p 6

[Commentary by Mario Marusic: "Confirmed Suspicion Regarding RRF Mission"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Look, now President Zubak himself is guilty! The authorities in Paris are accusing the president of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina of intentional obstruction of the Rapid Reaction Force [RRF] mission! The French, who have provided the largest number of soldiers for the RRF, as stated by the national news agency AFP, are very angry at "the limitation on their movement set by the Croatian side," that is because of the fact that they had been asked to sign a separate agreement on their mission.

When it nevertheless, after a series of negotiations between the highest officials of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the UN, and Rapid Reaction Forces, seemed that an agreement would be reached, that is, that all the dilemmas regarding the mandate, the contents, and the time restrictions of the intervention forces staying were cleared up, as "a final touch" Paris insisted on the deployment of the RRF on Mt. Dinara. This, in fact, only confirmed the suspicion regarding the good faith of the French and the English and the mission they wanted to impose on the Croatian-Bosniak federation.

In the beginning, namely, people were still guessing about the possible RRF action on unblocking Sarajevo, or their deployment on the demarcation lines envisaged by the Contact Group plan, or the additional protection of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] and safe havens in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Only from well-informed diplomatic sources could one discover that the Rapid Reaction Force, essentially, had no other task but to cement the results of Serbian aggression, not only in Bosnia-Herzegovina, but also in Croatia, for which "the best example" was the possibility of the open protection of Knin and the RRF deployment on Mt. Dinara. Thus the HVO [Croatian Defense Council] and HV [Croatian Army] would be disabled in carrying out new liberating military actions, if there were no political solution.

The Rapid Reaction Force, as claimed by Paris, do not want to sign any additional agreement with the Croatian-Bosniak federation about the conditions of their staying and activities in this area, but they, you see, would like to make some personal arrangements in the style of Mt. Dinara, while, at the same time, they impotently shrug their shoulders when somebody raises the question of the protection of Srebrenica, Zepa, or Gorazde. After a hypocritical and cynical, after all, it mirrors the policy of the international factors toward Bosnia-Herzegovina, and, above all, unjustifiable attack on President Zubak, it turned out that the demands of the Croats and Bosniaks to explain the role of the Rapid Reaction Force, with a firm confirmation on paper, were more than justified.

The arrival of several thousand French and British soldiers (only) into the territory of the Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia and the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, General Soubirou explained as "the necessity of exercises" in areas where there was no war activity, that is, as the base for the efficient operating of the RRF in some other areas. Meanwhile, the fall of Srebrenica itself into Serb hands, as well as the even worse situation in Zepa and Gorazde, urged the French general on to hastily explain that his forces were powerless to do anything efficient without American help. The agreement with the Americans, like so many times before, has not been achieved, so one may also speak of a new Franco-British implication and abuse of an American-European "misunderstanding" as a cover for the realization of French and British interests; of course, at the expense of the Croats and the Bosniaks, and on behalf of Milosevic and his satellites in Knin and in Pale.

Further on, as an entirely serious possibility, one should think of the French and British undermining of the good Croat-Bosniak relations and the endangering of the Federation, by which, again, the door would be open to the realization of the aggressive territorial aspirations of Belgrade, openly assisted by London and Paris. Otherwise, how can one understand General Janvier, who simply ignores the fact of the existence of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina (which is, at least publicly, supported by the world powers as the only alternative to a total war) and who, in talks with officials of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina who represent the joint stands of both Croats and Bosniaks, as was explicitly emphasized many times, (and not, as France claims, only Croat stands), shamelessly said that the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina simply did not exist for the United Nations.

The French attack on Zubak and the mean game about Mt. Dinara are nothing but one more attempt by the international community to wash their hands and their

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unclean consciences, above all in London and Paris, when it is a question of Bosnia-Herzegovina. And it is a clear sign how far certain world power-wielders are ready to go to help Milosevic and to help in every way to create Greater Serbia, by shamefully accusing the victims of Serbian aggression of being the real obstacle to peace.

RSK's Martic Briefs EU Monitoring Mission Head

LD2507155495 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1549 GMT 25 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Knin, Serb Krajina, July 25 (TANJUG)—Serb Krajina President Milan Martic received here on Tuesday new head of the European Union monitoring mission for the former Yugoslavia, Raul Sanchez of Spain.

A statement released by the Serb Krajina presidential office said that Martic had informed Sanchez about the origin of the Croatian-Serb Krajina conflict and causes of the war in the former Yugoslavia. Martic also informed Sanchez about Zagreb's new warmongering messages, the statement said.

Sanchez told Martic that ambassadors of the European troika (France, Spain, and Italy) had visited Croatian officials and informed them that Europe would not tolerate policy of force, the statement said.

Croatia launched an aggression on the western Slavonia region in Serb Krajina in early May, killing 3,300 Serb civilians and 1,000 troops, and forcing 15,000 Serb civilians to leave their homes.

Croatian officials have since constantly threatened with new offensives against Krajina Serbs.

Mikelic Sees Crisis in Forming RSK Government

LD2507170495 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1615 GMT 25 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Beli Manastir, 25 Jul (TANJUG)—Forming a government that will not be accepted by the eastern part of the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] will inevitably result in a crisis of the mechanism of executive authority, Krajina's dismissed prime minister, Borislav Mikelic, noted in Beli Manastir today.

Mikelic said that the new government, which Milan Babic intends to form in Topusko in two days' time, "will practically be the government of the Serb Autonomous Province of Krajina rather than the government of the whole RSK."

"The opposition of eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and western Srem should be a reason enough for a new government to delay its formation until all disagreements have been eliminated," Mikelic said in his conversation with reporters during a break in a session of his government.

Mikelic described the decision of Milan Martic and Milan Babic to schedule an extraordinary session of the RSK assembly for 27 July as their reply to his earlier decision to hold a meeting of his ministers in Knin a day later.

Mikelic also reproached Krajina's new prime minister-designate for his private consultations in homes in eastern Slavonia, i.e. his refusal to talk about the composition of his government with the leaders of this part of the Republic.

He stressed that a report by the State Commission on responsibility for the fall of western Slavonia should be the first item for debate at the session in Topusko, and the election of a new government should follow after that.

Mikelic said that, given the number of inhabitants and its material resources, the eastern part of the RSK should be entitled to key posts in this new government such as ministers for internal affairs, defense, and finance as well as the post of governor of the RSK National Bank.

About 60 percent of the RSK population are believed to live in eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and western Srem which account for 80 percent of Krajina's social product, Mikelic added.

The dismissed prime minister of Krajina said he does not intend to attend the session of the RSK assembly in Topusko. According to Boro Bogunovic, vice president of the Krajina Assembly, most deputies from eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and western Srem will not attend the session either.

This part of the RSK accounts for 26 of the 84 seats in the Republic's Assembly.

Officials Issue Statement

AU2507192295 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 25 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The presidents of the municipalities of Beli Manastir, Dalj, Tenja, and Vukovar and two deputy chairmen of the Assembly of the Republic of Serb Krajina, Boro Bogunovic and Djordje Damjanovic, point out in their joint announcement that a new government cannot be discussed until the State Commission's report on the events in western Slavonia is submitted, discussed, and adopted and until a state program of accommodating refugees and displaced persons from western Slavonia is adopted.

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Recalling that the new prime minister-designate has still not presented clear and precise orientations of the new government, the signatories of the announcement stress that they will not take part in solving parliamentary crisis and the crisis of executive power in Krajina, and reiterate their demand that early elections should be held in Krajina.

Martic Criticizes Mikelic

LD2507225495 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2011 GMT 25 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Knin, Vukovar, 25 Jul (TANJUG)—The information service of Milan Martic, president of the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK], announced today in connection with the "increasingly frequent articles which present the views of former RSK Prime Minister Borislav Mikelic in an uncritical and unprofessional manner" that it is "evident that the former prime minister of the RSK wants to depict himself as a political victim," the ISKRA news agency reports.

The statement says that Mikelic wants to present himself as a "genuine representative of the policies of Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic," while he wants to depict all others in Krajina as opponents of Milosevic's policies.

Mikelic is trying to say that the reason for his dismissal is "precisely that he represented the policy of Serbia in Krajina, which is a common deceit," the statement says.

The two deputy speakers of the RSK Assembly and the presidents of the municipal assemblies of Beli Manastir, Dalj, Tenja, and Vukovar issued another statement from Vukovar today in which they repeat that the formation of a new government of Milan Babic was "unacceptable for the eastern part of Krajina, for the refugees and displaced persons of western Slavonia."

They consider that this "does not resolve a single key problem of Krajina, but carries a great danger for the people and state," and that "Knin and the Knin political leadership who are most responsible for all the negative consequences of the hasty and unconstitutional dismissal of the prime minister are in this way trying to conceal their responsibility."

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Defense Minister Promises National Parity in Army

AU2507100695 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 23 Jul 95 p 2

[Article by "M.L.": "National Composition of the Macedonian Army"]

[FBIS Translated Text] At the "Goce Delcev" barracks in Skopje yesterday, in the presence of a large number of guests and high-ranking army officers, there was a promotion ceremony for 27 of the Military Academy's third generation of second lieutenants and 19 of its first generation of more senior officers.

First the cadets were congratulated on the successful completion of their education by Colonel Stojce Deskovski, dean of the Military Academy. With this generation of second lieutenants, he said, the Army of the Republic of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] has been enhanced with new, highly educated staff. Deskovski said that this first class of officers with command duties is the first generation of officers educated in our country. Then the cadets were addressed by Defense Minister Blagoj Handziski. Speaking about the period when the first Law on Defense of independent Macedonia was adopted, he said that all ranks and services in our Army have now started to function fully. Speaking about the situation in the Balkans, Handziski stressed that our country is an example of how in a state in which a number of different nationalities live ethnic problems can be solved through dialogue. Peace and stability in the country are basic conditions for the construction of the country and for the development of the future generations, Handziski added. This is the fatherland of all the Republic of Macedonia's citizens, and it is the right and duty of each one of them to defend the country. That is why the percentage of members of the Macedonian nation and the minority nations in our Army and the reserve is approximately the same their percentage in the total population, Handziski added. That is not the case with the senior officers, however. Here some nationalities are much more represented than others. That is why, with the opening of the Military Academy, we will construct a system to overcome these inadequacies and in such a way that we will not endanger the criteria of professionalism and competence in the coming period.

Handziski added that, starting this fall, the Military Academy will instruct teaching personnel, as well as personnel for scientific and research work in the area of defense. In this connection the Academy will start to instruct second officers and reserve officers and will thus fulfill all the conditions to create a modern educational and scientific institution, Handziski concluded.

General Dragoljub Bocinov handed the diplomas to the new graduates. Three second lieutenants and three officers were given awards for being the best in their classes. Blagoja Bacevski expressed his gratitude on behalf of the cadets.

Increase in Cost of Living Reported

95BA0262C Skopje VECER in Macedonian 16 May 95 p 8

[Article by Dj. Vasilevska: "If Food Is Life, We Are Making a Living!"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *A minimum of food and drink for one average four-member family "requires" one to 1.2 average wages each month. With the other costs of living, especially those associated with housing and a minimum of hygiene, almost two average wages are "required." Who is receiving them?*

The consumer basket that is "filled" every month with about 50 staples by experts from the Republic Institute for the Advancement of Households, whose specialty is the nutritional standard of the population in our country, guarantees that citizens will be fed. The calories prepared for groups of staples (somewhere from 2,800 to 3,000 daily, for each member of an average four-member family) ensure survival, provided that what is recommended as the minimum daily food products, for which about 8,500 denars need to be allocated each month, are taken in, i.e., purchased. At least, that was the case during the past months of this year, in which the price of the consumer basket rose from 8,385 denars (in January) to 8,576 denars (in April, which is also the latest data).

The fluctuations in the contents of the basket from month to month are insignificant, and that is expected to continue. Even when one compares January 1995 to January 1994, since when the consumer basket has only "become heavier" by 28.6 percent, while this ratio for April has been reduced to 19.1 percent—the institute's observation that there have been no major changes in prices, thus stabilizing expenditures for food overall, is acceptable. With respect to the average wage in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM], however, it is obvious (by coincidence or not) that the value of this institute's basket somehow keeps "revolving" around it.

The Basket

Let us note that the groceries that are "arranged" in the basket are intended for an average family in which the father is 40 to 45 years old and is satisfactorily employed, the mother is 35 to 40 years old and may be employed or not, the son is 15, and the daughter

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is 10. Every month this family has to allocate from its household budget about 8,500 denars, specifically for: bread, flour, and other grain products (1,874 denars); meat, fish, eggs, and meat products (2,140 denars); milk and dairy products (1,620 denars); "fats," including olive oil, margarine, and lard (317 denars); fresh vegetables (1,400 denars); fruits (495); and sugar, jam, coffee, tea, a "bit" of chocolate, and so forth (726 denars). The menu is a heavy one, clearly, but this has taken into account the different needs for food among the members of the average family and a sort of standardized intake of calories that ensures physiological functioning.

In contrast to the Household Institute, where the basket "becomes more expensive" by nuances from month to month, according to the data from the Statistics Institute it was 10,142 denars "heavier" in January (1.698 denars more than the average wage for that month, or 8,444 denars), 9.77 percent in February, 4.34 percent in March, as much as 9,786.42 denars.... Consequently, if one average wage, so to speak, is needed to "cover" the basket of food products, in the second case it is already 1.2 average wages, which means that it is a little more prominent in that "statistical one."

Budget

And now, if life consists only of food and drink, for which one average Macedonian monthly wage is too little according to the statistics, and according to the Household Institute those earnings are enough, then we could observe that on the average, people are staying alive! Modestly—but they are staying alive! Although it is well known and there are arguments indicating that fewer and fewer of our (fellow) citizens fit into that average, we will continue with the "average pattern," shifting now to the household budget, from which numerous other family needs must be covered, in addition to what is called the "consumer basket." Since we are on this topic, we must count from the start on at least one more average wage, because with just one, one cannot move a millimeter away from the basket, i.e., from "bare" survival. So that these vitally important mathematics do not get away from us (there is a lack of data), we will take two average January wages (a total of 16,888 denars)—a month in which 10,142 denars were needed for food and drink.

The math will not take long: We will start with the bill collectors, as the "favorite people" of most citizens, and apparently we will also end there. More precisely, with those 4,456 denars it is necessary to cover the expenditures for one average—naturally—apartment, and moreover a socialized one (about 1,800 denars for rent, 1,100 for electricity, 180 for water, 150 for the telephone bill, and 326 for the television). After we add a minimum of 550 denars to maintain a minimum of hygiene (both personal and for the apartment), the "bill" reaches 15,148 denars. There are 1,700 denars left, which will face our "average citizen" with a dilemma over how to spend them: on a monthly ticket for a school-age child, for example, for kindergarten, for sneakers...?! Thus, we actually arrive at all those items in the household budget that can by no means be covered even with two monthly wages: clothing and footwear, furniture and household appliances, education, culture and entertainment, transportation, communication....

Unfortunately, those who receive minimum wages and pensions, who are not employed, whose wages come several months late, who are employed by bankrupt firms, and so forth, are very far from this low standard of living for the average citizen or from these "statistical mathematics."

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Finance Minister Confirms U.S. Business Interest

LD2607115595 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1100 GMT 26 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 26 Jul—U.S. businessmen are interested in investing in the Polish economy, above all in big ventures such as telecommunications and the power industry, Deputy Prime Minister Grzegorz Kolodko said today, an hour after his return from Washington.

Kolodko announced that extensive privatization actions will be undertaken this year in telecommunications and the copper industry.

Grzegorz Kolodko visited Washington at the invitation of the U.S. Administration, together with representatives of nine other dynamically developing states. He also met representatives of the U.S. Administration, including Treasury Secretary Robert Rubin. The deputy prime minister let it be known that, apart from macroeconomic issues, he talked about assistance in privatizing Polish banks and reactions to inflationary growth in currency reserves.

Kolodko described the still too high growth in currency reserves as an "inflation factor." Without controlling this growth, it will not be possible to efficiently curb inflation. Amendments to the currency law abolishing the need to immediately sell foreign currency to banks by exporters is, in his view, a partial solution. Kolodko said that, when the amendments take effect in the fall, people demanding this change (National Bank of Poland and exporters) will be dissatisfied because they will suffer the consequences of the new exchange rate policy.

Oleksy on Ministerial Operations, Elections

WS2507143095 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 22 Jul 95 p 4

[Interview with Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy by Robert Krasowski, Piotr Smilowicz, and Igor Zalewski; place and date not given: "I Have a Sort of Agreement With the President"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [ZYCIE WARSZAWY] Mister Prime Minister, do you have full control over the presidential ministries?

[Oleksy] What do you mean by "full control"?

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] Are you fully aware of what is going on there?

[Oleksy] I am not fully aware. I am not sure, however, whether this goes only for these three ministries, because I do not know much about what is going on in the remaining ones.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] Why is that?

[Oleksy] Because of the complex structure of the government with its numerous levels and offices, routine procedures that exist independently of each other. The prime minister cannot single-handedly attempt to fathom what goes on in the 20 ministries from top to bottom.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] What we meant is the issue of loyalty, particularly of the three so-called presidential ministries. Do they thoroughly report on everything you need to know?

[Oleksy] I have never been denied access to any information, but the same is true of the other ministries. This cannot be used as a criterion specifically for these three. It is unthinkable that any cabinet member, regardless of his affiliations, could refuse to impart information to the prime minister. There is, of course, the question of how cursory the information is and to what extent it is an honest reply to the prime minister's queries.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] But are the Ministries of National Defense [MON], Internal Affairs [MSW], and Foreign Affairs [MSZ] special in any way?

[Oleksy] I think they are, although the president seems to be softening up on issues that were so frequently sources of conflicts in the past, namely the "presidential" character of these ministries. He even occasionally states he will not interfere with these ministries. I wonder what this change of attitude may mean, but I can only speculate.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] Could you share your speculations with us?

[Oleksy] This is supposed to be an interview, not tabloid gossip. There have been attempts at extracting MON, MSW, and MSW from [former Prime Minister] Pawlak's influence, and from my own as well. It was all under the motto of the president's constitutional powers. In reality, the conflict was not about power, meaning the constitutional requirement of approving ministerial appointments. It has never been said that the president's cohorts informally ruled those ministries. This is the crux of the problem. I see certain changes are taking place in this respect.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] Is the situation in all three ministries the same?

[Oleksy] [Interior] Minister Milczanowski always found serving the state more important than any political coloring. [Foreign] Minister Bartoszewski is a very eminent man and all I can do is see to it that all the

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internal rules indispensable for the proper functioning of MSZ are observed. I and Minister Bartoszewski differ in opinions on filling the post of undersecretary of state, which still remains vacant. I do not mind that the minister "serves" also the president, because the Constitution places him under an obligation to do so. There has been a widespread false opinion that the foreign minister is one of the president's men. I believe we are gradually realizing the constitutional provision that foreign policy is implemented by the government and relations between the state and foreign countries are overseen by the president who implements it through the cabinet minister. Had this been so from the very beginning, we could have avoided all those foolish arguments which were aimed at depriving the government and the prime minister of control over the foreign minister.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] Are you referring to the times when Andrzej Olechowski was foreign minister?

[Oleksy] I am talking about the time this coalition has been in power. As for your basic question, I can tell you that despite aeverything, I do not feel very sure as prime minister that my decisions will be implemented without any debates beyond the cabinet.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] Does that go also for the Armed Forces?

[Oleksy] The process of establishing civilian control is continually under way. This has been the source of conflicts. [Defense] Minister Okonski assures me that he identifies with this government. Yet I am informed about certain facts only when I expressly demand them.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] What type of facts??

[Oleksy] I think the issue of the Military Intelligence Services is not settled as far as conveying information to the government is concerned. I have still not received any project for the restructuring of MON. As for the arms trade, I receive information only when I demand it and only when a scandal breaks out. One may ask, on the other hand, whether the prime minister should be personally interested in knowing everything.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] How would you answer that question?

[Oleksy] I believe he should not. The prime minister should undoubtedly be filled in on so-called big issues, especially when they become public. Apart from that, he should be informed in advance on issues important to state security and foreign relations.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] How do you explain the president's keen interest in the Armed Forces, as you have said? Is it a question of ambitions or interests?

[Oleksy] The president takes his constitutional title of commander in chief of the Armed Forces very literally. The British Queen is also commander in chief of the Armed Forces, but she does not act on that. Perhaps this is not so much an issue of Lech Walesa's personal ambitions, but an expression of some of his cohorts' desires to seem more important in the public eyes. The president's foibles were played on, his love of order and parades. This "fitted in with" the debate on strong presidential rule in Poland.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] Is that really all there is to it?

[Oleksy] If anyone ever wanted to involve the Polish Armed Forces in any game, it would definitely not be Lech Walesa himself.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] Someone from his closest surroundings?

[Oleksy] ...

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] What does cohabitation Polish-style look like?

[Oleksy] At the moment, there seems to be some sort of agreement. The president is not hiding his aspirations to overthrow the current coalition and parliament in one blow; he states this openly in public. Thus, the situation is clear. The elections are approaching. Their atmosphere will not be without its effects on the style of the future government. I hope those effects will not be destructive.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] Does the presidential campaign have any impact on the current government?

[Oleksy] It does. This is due primarily to the candidates, who build their own images by launching attacks on the government.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] Do any of the candidates defend the government?

[Oleksy] Not a single one! That is why this is all so paranoid. It turns out this is the worst government in the history of the Polish Republic.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] What about candidates from the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] and the Polish Peasant Party [PSL]?

[Oleksy] This is not a task for the candidates. I expect that candidates from the coalition parties will handle the attacks launched by their rivals on the government well. Kwasniewski is already doing that very successfully. I cannot imagine a PSL hopeful carrying out a campaign at the expense of the government. Otherwise, I would have to revise my previous decisions.

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[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] Which decisions?

[Oleksy] I would give it all up. I took over as head of the cabinet not to satisfy my personal ambitions or because I considered it convenient. I will not allow the coalitionists to undermine this government.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] Are you not afraid that the two skis of SLD and PSL will slide apart as the elections approach?

[Oleksy] They might slide apart, but they do not necessarily have to. I believe logic and a feeling of joint responsibility will have the upper hand in the PSL.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] Waldemar Pawlak has already begun attacking the SLD.

[Oleksy] Waldemar Pawlak has not done anything wrong yet, apart from issuing several statements.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] Do you not think that the PSL chairman wants the coalition to split?

[Oleksy] I think he will feel a responsibility for this coalition. He tends to act on his resentment. It is quite understandable for a former prime minister to do that. Moreover, with the passage of time, the reasons for the reversal of roles that took place will fade and self-criticism will vanish with it. The PSL may be tempted from various sides to enter certain configurations. It may also calculate that it will benefit more from staying in the coalition. The attitudes and opinions of the entire PSL club must be taken into consideration; however. I greatly appreciate my personal contacts and talks with the entire PSL club.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] Are you questioning the influence Pawlak has in his own party?

[Oleksy] I will not issue any opinion on his influence. That is none of my business.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] What role do you see ministers playing in the presidential campaign? Will they be allowed to tour the country and canvass support for the candidates?

[Oleksy] I have already decided they will not be allowed to do that. Some were even angry about it. Government decisions, however, cannot depend on the election campaign because we would have chaos. Management cadres of the state administration will only have an obligation to inform all candidates on the condition of the state, and locally, to report on the condition of the particular voivodships.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] How cohesive would you say the government is? After taking office, you said the government would speak in one voice. Meanwhile, a very fierce conflict between Deputy Prime Minister Kolodko and [Labor] Minister Miller is developing before our eyes.

[Oleksy] Unfortunately, all is not what I had hoped it to be. When I took office, I did not lay down certain conditions on disciplining the ministers. Besides, if I had been free to form a cabinet of my own liking, it would have been very different. I have recently forbidden the ministers to quarrel in public. After all, this cabinet is made up of many strong personalities; therefore, many conflicts are bound to crop up. It is important to prevent public arguments because this serves the image of the entire government well.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] But a prime minister should firmly intervene in such cases.

[Oleksy] I do, only you cannot see that. If you think the most recently publicized quarrels were the only ones, you are mistaken. Some of the ministers are very strong personalities. Each one of them, however, must realize what it means to work in a team and who is the boss who settles problematic issues.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] Could you mention some of those personalities?

[Oleksy] There is no need for me to do that. Let everyone describe themselves.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] Is this a government or a confederation of ministries then?

[Oleksy] It is a government, because conflicts are incidental and dozens of joint decisions are made.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] Do you have the proper tools for disciplining the ministers? There is a limit to what you can do, you cannot, for example, dismiss any of the ministers because that would lead to a coalition crisis.

[Oleksy] Why not? If a minister exceeded a limit I considered impermissible, he would be dismissed.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] Where are those limits? We think Minister Miller, for instance, has exceeded them.

[Oleksy] He exceeded them in terms of finesse in cooperating with others, but he did not exceed them from the view of my manageability of the government. If the minister refused to follow my instructions or instruction issued by the Council of Ministers and if the situation repeated itself, I would not hesitate to dismiss that minister.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] One of your subordinates, Deputy Prime Minister Kolodko, is to decide about the fates of the Supervisory Board of Polish Television SA [TVP] very soon. How far will the decision be economic, and how far will it be political?

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[Oleksy] Everything must be legal. The minister of finance is independent and nonpolitical.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] Yet, SLD has appealed to you to solve the television problem.

[Oleksy] It has never been explicitly said what "the television problem" really is. Some postulated that TVP President Walendziak be replaced. That is not within the prerogatives of the head of the Council of Ministers.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] What do you think of television?

[Oleksy] It is a public network and its supervisory board should bear that in mind at all times. I think newscasts are very often biased. The political attitudes of the majority of management cadres are also well known.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] What do you think of the president's veto to the commercialization law (the interview was carried out before the Sejm overruled the veto—editor's note)?

[Oleksy] I think it is very wrong. I have the impression that the decision is an element of a political campaign. As you may remember, the previous government was admonished for failing to pass this law. Now Solidarity shouted "No!," and the majority of those who joined the debate at a later stage did not even read the law but shouted "No" because they thought it was the right thing to do.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] What about the opinion of the Business Center Club [BCC]? [Oleksy] BCC is a trade company, and that means something. But the National Chamber of Commerce, for example, did not share that opinion.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] What about the charges of breaking the Company Pact [Pakt o Przedsiebiorstwie]?

[Oleksy] That is completely absurd. The pact provides for giving 10 percent of shares to employees, the law calls for 15 percent. One may argue whether we are going in the same direction, because according to the Solidarity postulates on mass enfranchisement we should take those shares away from the employees. All provisions of the act and more was included in the law. Accusations that commercialization is a trick to conceal an aversion for privatization was devised on the basis of an illusory and politically aggressive assumption that this coalition does not want to privatize. You know, everyone says anyway that this coalition is against privatization body and soul anyway. Once this opinion became so widespread it was very easy to instill the feelings that the law is very harmful for privatization mainly because the coalition supports it.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] In many cases, however, commercialization is the final stage of transformation.

[Oleksy] Of course, there will be such instances, but this will definitely not be a dominating trend. After all, we are not aiming at a 100-percent privately owned economy in Poland.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] There will be seats for old-boy directors, recalling the times of the People's Republic [PRL], on the supervisory boards.

[Oleksy] Please do not portray PRL directors as if they were devils incarnate. Show me a government that would not rely on tested experts in commercializing and privatizing 4,500 companies, experts who meet certain professional requirements, naturally. Will anyone mention the word old boys? No, because charges of PRL old boys are raised only against the coalition. Anticipating such charges, we suggested that examinations for supervisory board members be held in front of special commissions. The opposition voted against. If no one is willing to believe that the coalition can be objective, it is no use arguing.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] But you must admit that the coalition's deep devotion to commercialization and the political stake it has in securing seats for PRL directors do fit into a logical whole.

[Oleksy] Give me facts. Those are only impressions based on allegations. Without commercialization it would be impossible to establish pension and compensation funds because the shares of state companies would have to be allocated to that purpose. The social security reform and privatization would be impossible without it.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] Returning to the issue of loyalty to the "old boys." Your political camp has recently armed the opponents of that theory with further arguments by preventing Ireneusz Sekula's [former head of the Main Customs Office charged with embezzlement] parliamentary immunity being lifted.

[Oleksy] I think that was reckless. It defied everything that had been previously said about general principles and the role of courts in clearing the accused of charges.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] Why did you not take part in the vote?

[Oleksy] I was at a cabinet session.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] Why did you not persuade your club colleagues to vote?

[Oleksy] I did not think that was my duty.

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[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] Cimoszewicz [former justice minister dismissed after "clean hands" campaign] got a beating for holding his own opinions.

[Oleksy] Cimoszewicz is not the type who will take a beating. Nobody even attempted to beat him.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] From what you say it seems the rule of this coalition is not much different from that of the Solidarity cabinets. Privatization is proceeding along, as is decentralization. This is not what you declared in your election campaign.

[Oleksy] Please be more specific. There are too many misstatements in criticizing this government. One moment we are accused of destroying the reforms of our predecessors, the next it is said that our policies do not much differ from those of previous governments. Whichever is most convenient at the moment!

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] What about the 100 percent indexation of pensions?

[Oleksy] It will be completed in several years. A law has been adopted providing that with each indexation we will raise the basis for calculating pensions by one point. We have already attained 93 percent. Assuming that indexation will be carried out twice a year, we will reach the 100 percent level in three years. We never promised we would reach that 100 percent overnight.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] In three years the second elections will be already over.

[Oleksy] The history of Poland will not stop in three years.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] Could you list the differences between your government and those of Bielecki and Suchocka?

[Oleksy] The success of this coalition is that we have been able to maintain dynamic economic growth. We have succeeded in developing what was a seed of potential development into a stable trend. This required harsh discipline and consistency, sometimes even against the expectations of our own constituency, which was losing patience. We have also indexed pensions four times, which no one even spoke of in times of the liberal governments. The standard of living for senior citizens dramatically improved over the last two years. This would have never been possible if the government's political orientation had not changed. We have strengthened the Polish currency, decreased unemployment. Is that not enough? I must admit we were not that successful in the field of education, writing off the debts of schools did not work out, but that is due to the fact the schools with their material needs are a bottomless pit.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] Maybe this is due to the lack of aptitude on the part of [Education] Minister Czarny's advisers?

[Oleksy] The minister fervently argued that these were the best suited people to carry out the reforms. It is true that it is very difficult to inspire a reforming spirit among ministerial bureaucrats. Every minister who attempts to carry out reforms will have the bureaucracy against him. Minister Czarny admits that perhaps he did replace some people too hastily, but only because he did not receive a warm welcome from the ministerial bureaucrats. If he does want to do something, he cannot do it with those people. That is what he says.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] The growth of inflation is another failure of this government. It was not to exceed 17 percent this year.

[Oleksy] Yes. It is not what we projected, and nobody is taking that lightly. It is no coincident that I took emergency antiinflation measures which should have been implemented earlier. I do not know whether my antiinflation package will be effective, perhaps it was implemented too late, although it is working at the moment. We already know inflation will not be 17 percent, but is that how much it was to be? Perhaps we were too ambitious, or perhaps something was neglected in day-to-day policies. It is no tragedy, however, since independent institutes claim that this year's growth of GNP is to exceed 6 percent. The price for such a rapid economic growth is higher inflationary tension. One way or another, inflation should be lower than it was in 1994.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] The government had proudly announced security as a top priority. Not much has been done thus far, however, and head of police Commandant Stanczyk admitted that activating police forces did nothing to reduce the crime rate.

[Oleksy] It is impossible to make progress people will notice over a month or a year. I know you will not like to hear this, but the disintegration of the police and of the public sector have been intrinsic in the philosophy of transformations ever since 1989.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] Do you think it was premeditated?

[Oleksy] It was partly a consequence of the very abrupt transformation to a market economy. The governments had to start with cutting out the public sector that had become overgrown in PRL times. MSW suffered the most cuts because it was seen as a symbol of the past. Third, people were naive in hoping that together with the introduction of democracy life will instantenously improve and everyone will suddenly become honest. I took part in developing the police laws in 1990. I remember

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arguments raised by representatives of Solidarity in the commissions. Staffing was cut and benefits were taken away in the hope that people will become better as we introduce democracy. Unfortunately, life proved otherwise. That is why charges that my government has not created 128,000 new jobs in the police and failed to subsidize it with an extra 10 trillion zlotys are a huge misunderstanding and a symptom of historical amnesia.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] Mister Prime Minister, the only yardstick for measuring the improvement of security is the crime rate.

[Oleksy] I self-critically admit that I was far more enthusiastic about this priority when it was formulated than I currently am. Minister Milczanowski claims that only extra funding can help him enhance security. Meanwhile, an internal reform of the ministry has to be considered. I think that MSW is a giant which could move over to make room for the police, which is in fact closest to the citizen. The priority is the policy, and not the entire MSW. The least we want to do this year to make policemen, constables, and police headquarters more visible in housing districts. More patrols should cruise the streets. We shall see whether that is feasible or not. Half a year from now the so-called police laws will come into effect, which will allow the police to act far more effectively than it currently does.

Investigation Into RZECZPOSPOLITA Purchase

WS2507145495 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 22 Jul 95 p 2

[Article by "BM," "MPO": "The Press. Hersant Buys 2 Percent of Shares in RZECZPOSPOLITA; Contract Under Inspection"]

[FBIS Translated Text] At the motion of Prime Minister Oleksy, the Supreme Chamber of Control [NIK] is to investigate the legality of the sale of 2 percent of shares in the RZECZPOSPOLITA daily to Hersant's French concern by the RZECZPOSPOLITA State Publishing Company [PPW]. Hersant has thus acquired a 51-percent stake in the daily. The PPW stake has fallen to 49 percent.

Marek Borowski, the head of the Office of the Council of Ministers [URM], the founding body of the PPW, was against the deal. Having learned that the contract was signed, he asked the PPW for all of the relevant documents in order to check if the law had been violated.

As ZYCIE WARSZAWY established from unofficial sources, URM experts did not find any transgression of the law. "The contract is worded in such a way that nothing can be brought against it," they concluded in a final report.

The contract was signed last week. It is said that it was RZECZPOSPOLITA's response to Privatization Minister Wieslaw Kaczmarek's attempts at transforming the daily into a State Treasury company, thus giving the government more influence over it.

Maciej Ceglowski, head of the PPW, said that it was necessary to sell the shares because the French partner said he would not further invest in the paper unless he had a majority stake. This does not mean that the French shareholder can now arbitrarily make decisions concerning the daily's future because the controlling interest in the company that publishes RZECZPOSPOLITA is 80 percent.

Covenant Reaches No Verdict on Voting

WS2607104095 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 25 Jul 95 p 2

[Article by "M.D.Z.": "Motion for Excluding Jan Olszewski From St. Catherine's Covenant; Time for a 'Conclave'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Arbitration Commission of St. Catherine's Covenant has not explained who won in the sounding vote that took place in Sulejowek. It has, however, asked Father Jozef Maj to convene a "conclave" which is to "launch a certain procedure" consisting of "an attempt on the part of the candidates to reach an agreement among themselves." The Commission has not investigated a motion submitted by one of the member parties to exclude Jan Olszewski from St. Catherine's Covenant.

The motion for Jan Olszewski's exclusion was submitted to Father Jozef Maj by the Polish Union [ZP], a member party supporting Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz, headed by Kazimierz Barczyk and Andrzej Anusz. ZP claims Olszewski publicly confirmed false results of the primaries and should thus not have an equal status with the remaining candidates.

The Arbitration Commission (its members include the Covenant's patron Father Jozef Maj, Covenant Spokesperson Teresa Skupien, Janusz Tomaszewski of Solidarity, and Andrzej Rosciszewski, a lawyer) did not investigate who obtained how many votes during the primaries held in Sulejowek. "We do not want to pass a verdict which might produce even greater chaos," Teresa Skupien told RZECZPOSPOLITA. "The Covenant should first establish what a sounding vote means."

The Arbitration Commission, although one of its members is Solidarity Deputy Chairman Janusz

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Tomaszewski, has failed to reach an agreement on whether Solidarity representative Kazimierz Janiak did take part in the primaries (holding a right to cast two votes) as father Maj claims, or, as Janiak himself claims, the Solidarity representative did not vote. Whether Jan Olszewski or Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz was the winner depends on how Solidarity voted. Father Maj claims it voted for Gronkiewicz-Waltz. "We have to wait to hear how Solidarity voted until [Chairman] Marian Krzaklewski returns from his summer holiday," says Teresa Skupien. The Covenant spokesperson does not exclude the possibility that the Arbitration Commission will return to the issue of the primaries and try to explain all doubts.

National Bank President Will Not Resign

LD2607103395 Warsaw PAP in Polish 0959 GMT 26 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 26 Jul—Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz, president of the National Bank of Poland, is not going to resign because she decided to run in the presidential election.

Asked to comment on ZYCIE WARSZAWY's report about the alleged conversation between the president and the prime minister concerning her dismissal, she said at a news conference: "I do not believe that the legendary leader of Solidarity would want, with the help of the postcommunist coalition, to eliminate another Solidarity member from political life."

GS To Form Office for NATO Integration

WS2607112895 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 24 Jul 95 p 2

[Article by Luiza Kowalska: "The Armed Forces. Does the General Staff Want More? Foreign Appetites"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Does the General Staff [GS] have an appetite for foreign policy? Up until now, this was the exclusive area of the civilian part of the Ministry of National Defense [MON]. An entirely new office is to be established at the GS at any moment—the office of the plenipotentiary of the GS head for integration with NATO.

The military already oversees training and education, secret services, and some personnel issues. All were taken over from the civilian part of MON by the same method. First, they complained that decisions made by civilians do not translate well into the military and that some sort of intermediary between MON and the Armed Forces would have to be established at the GS. Once the intermediary appeared in the form of a new board, it was pointed out that identical structures operate within MON and the GS, duplicating each other. As a result, the civilians have been deprived of the majority of their powers, including controlling functions. Thus, the civilian department that previously dealt with training and education now deals with environmental issues.

It is rumored at MON that foreign affairs will be met with the same fate.

It Does Not Look Sinister Yet

"We simply need an office that would coordinate all military activities related to, for example, the Partnership for Peace project," says Lieutenant Colonel Zdzislaw Czekierda, spokesman for the head of the GS, claiming he has not heard anything about plans to establish the office of a plenipotentiary for NATO integration. And he goes on to promise: "We will certainly not interfere with politics."

Defense Minister Zbigniew Okonski is very happy with the idea: "This proves that these issues translate directly into the military," he says.

Deputy Defense Minister Andrzej Karkoszka, who is directly responsible for foreign affairs, is more cautious: "It all depends on how large that structure is to be."

"And on the powers the plenipotentiary is bestowed with, because all of the structures emerging in the GS looked innocent in the beginning," adds Janusz Onyszkiewicz, deputy chairman of the Sejm Defense Commission.

Foreign Horizons

The GS has been interested in foreign policy for some time. That is one of the reasons it is unwilling to forfeit military attaches to the civilians, despite a decision made by the previous head of MON a year ago. "The attaches are formally under my supervision, but practice is different. I am trying to change this," admits Karkoszka.

For the time being, however, our sources claim he is not finding this easy because personnel changes in several key embassies are up in the air. The current military attache at the Polish Embassy in Washington, Boleslaw Izydorczyk, is to be recalled and moved to a lesser post in Canada. The move is intended to send to Washington an Air Force general who has already been picked by the GS.

As we learned, Deputy Minister Karkoszka's interventions were futile. He was also unsuccessful in preventing the appointment of the head of the military foreign affairs department, even though he directly supervises that department.

The new head will thus be [Chancellery head] Mieczyslaw Wachowski's good friend Marek Krupinski, previously deputy president of LOT Polish Airlines.

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Tinca Says Army Can Improve Ties to Hungary

AU2607092495 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 0400 GMT 26 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The very good relations between the armies of Romania and Hungary do not apply solely to military aspects, but should also help promote new ideas to strengthen confidence between the two countries, Romanian Defense Minister Gheorghe Tinca said in an interview he gave in Prague to Radio Free Europe.

Tinca also said that in the future they envisage achieving reconciliation between the two countries on the basis of the Franco-German model. This prospect has been discussed with the German defense minister, Volker Ruehe, and it will probably be broached at Tinca's next meeting, sometime during the coming months, with the defense minister in Budapest, Gyorgy Keleti

Mr. Tinca said that the Army can play a role in making Hungarian-Romanian relations take a different direction, and on the international plane, such efforts could be considered more trustworthy, as they would be made by a stable institution that is not involved in politics and is relevant for the genuine sense and substance of relations between any two states.

Last night in Bucharest, having returned from a visit to the Czech Republic at the invitation of his counterpart, Vilem Holan, Romanian Defense Minister Gheorghe Tinca told our reporters that, following a period of hesitation, military relations between Romania and the Czech Republic are beginning to recover. The two countries face similar problems in the military field; therefore, they could support each other in solving them, said Tinca.

They signed an accord covering every domain of interest to the two armies. They also drafted several actions to be included in next year's cooperation program, such as participation in military exercises, and technical cooperation—especially in the field of aviation, where Romania uses Czech-made training aircraft which need to be modernized and the Czech Republic shows interest in the Romanian technical projects in this field.

Tinca also noted the existence of similar views in assessments of the security situation in the central European region, NATO integration, and the Partnership for Peace program.

UDMR Issues Plan To Protest Education Bill

AU2507130295 Bucharest CURIERUL NATIONAL in Romanian 20 Jul 95 p 3

["Document" issued by the UDMR Operative Council on 18 July; place not given: "The UDMR Has Decided How To Protest the Education Bill"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *The UDMR [Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania] Operative Council held a meeting on 18 July, at which they decided how ethnic Hungarians should protest the Education Bill. We hereby publish the full text of the document:*

1. The UDMR president's office, the Executive Presidium, the Council of UDMR Representatives, the UDMR Coordinating Council, and the party's groups in the two houses of Parliament shall cooperate in alerting various international fora, as well as European governments and institutions. This activity shall be coordinated by the UDMR president's office.

2. The UDMR shall turn to the OSCE high commissioner for ethnic minority issues, requesting that he should urgently examine the thus created situation.

3. We support the visit, to be made as soon as possible, of the heads of the traditional Hungarian churches in Romania to the Council of Europe, and the UDMR is taking steps so that their talks in Strasbourg can take place as soon as possible.

4. The UDMR calls on the Council of Hungarian Youth in Romania to prepare a relay of young people to Strasbourg, so that the relay, which is actually a [UDMR] legislative initiative in the field of education backed by 500,000 signatures, should reach its destination on the very day of the rally to be held in September in the town of Odorheiul Secuiesc.

5. We call upon our civic organizations, professional associations, and lobbies, as well as private individuals, to send protests to international organizations and legislators of the Council of Europe and European Parliament before 15 August. The information needed for this action shall be supplied by local and regional UDMR branches.

6. We are counting on the support of ethnic Hungarian organizations in the West, as well as on human rights organizations in Europe in our endeavors to inform international public opinion most efficiently about the discriminatory nature of the Education Bill.

7. The UDMR shall attend the ecumenical protest rally initiated by the World Union of Hungarians scheduled for 27 July 1995 in Debrecen [Hungary].

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8. The UDMR Operative Council sanctions the proposal suggesting that a forum of students and educational staff be held on 2 September in Odorheiul Secuiesc and requests that the Union of the Hungarian Educational Staff in Romania, the Bolyai Society, and the Council of Hungarian Youth in Romania, cooperating with the UDMR Executive Presidium, should complete preparations for the aforementioned rally by 15 August.

9. Simultaneously with the Odorheiul Secuiesc rally, the regional UDMR organizations shall organize nationwide protest actions, rallies, and marches. On 23 July 1995, the UDMR Executive Presidium will be holding a conference with the leaders of the territorial organizations to discuss the technicalities related to these protest actions.

10. The UDMR calls upon all signatories of the 1994 legislative initiative to send letters to the speaker of the Romanian Senate, protesting the violation of their constitutional rights and requesting that a draft bill on education in the mother tongues of ethnic minorities should be urgently included in the agenda. The UDMR Operative Council authorizes the territorial organizations to advertise this action as massively as they can and ask the people to send their letters before 1 September 1995.

11. The UDMR Operative Council continues to deem it exceptionally important to properly inform Romanian public opinion and to engage in political dialogue. We call our professional organizations to make use of their ties with their Romanian partner organizations for this purpose. Similarly, the UDMR wishes to inform Romanian public opinion by means of the mass media and leaflets published in the Romanian language. The secretariat of the UDMR Executive Presidium is responsible for organizing the actions to genuinely inform public opinion and for obtaining as much publicity as possible.

12. The UDMR Operative Council requests that the Crisis Commission should synthesize, before 5 August, the results of the consultations with educational staff, parents, and generally with representatives of civil society, and come up with proposals on further ways to protest, including possible forms of civil disobedience. We ask the educational staff to participate as actively as they can in working on these proposals.

Protest Scheduled for 19 Sep

LD2507214395 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 2000 GMT 25 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The crisis management team of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [UDMR] has discussed the dangers threatening their mother tongue. Tibor Bogdan reports.

[Bogdan] The permanent committee of the UDMR's Council of Representatives has decided to work out a medium-term survival strategy regarding the situation which has evolved following the introduction of the education law. The body called together the special committee for education, the task of which will be to work out the exact action plan.

At the same time, the permanent committee analyzed in detail the dangers threatening Hungarian-language education as a result of the education law's measures, and adopted recommendations to tackle them. The body decided that on the first anniversary of the submission to the relevant forums of the UDMR's own draft education bill, which was also supported by 500,000 signatures, they will organize a nationwide protest action on 19 September.

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Federal

Government Reports 11.3-Percent Growth in Economy

LD2507222395 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2215 GMT 25 Jul 95

["Ecopool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, July 25 (TANJUG)—The growth the Yugoslav economy recorded in the first half of this year compared to the same period of 1994 confirmed that the economic policy measures have produced positive results.

A statement from the meeting Tuesday between Yugoslav Prime Minister Radoje Kontic, the republican premiers—Mirko Marjanovic and Milo Djukanovic—and Central Bank Governor Dragoslav Avramovic also said industrial production rose in the first six months this year three percent compared to the last year's average.

Favorable results were achieved also in agriculture. This year's wheat crop is to be an estimated 3.5 million tonnes.

The exchange rate of the national currency, the dinar, was stable despite several attempts at toppling it.

The official rate of exchange puts the dinar on par with the German mark, while the black market value was 2.5 dinar for the German mark.

In the first six months this year, the foreign currency reserves recorded a mild rise.

The rise in retail prices was intolerably high and stood at about 5 percent, that is, 40 percent in the first six months of this year, which posed a constant threat to the positive results of the economic policy, as assessed at the meeting.

Successful implementation of the country's economic recovery program requires bridling price rises, maintaining a stable exchange rate of the dinar, higher output and increased exports, as set out.

Living Standard Continues To Decline

95BA0290D Belgrade EKONOMSKA POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 12 Jun 95 pp 14-15

[Article by V. Karakasevic: "Living Standard: Hopes Eaten Away"]

[FBIS Translated Text] More than 60 percent of disposable household income is spent on food. That figure could be even higher if it were not for other essential expenses.

During the first months of last year, after the total collapse of earnings during hyperinflation, when employed persons received 60, then 100, and then in each subsequent month a few more dinars, many began to hope for an acceleration of trends that would allow the populace's standard of living to at least approximate the level of the 1980's. People still had food in home freezers, and so wages seemed all the more elevated. Farmers and other private businessmen began collecting a fair amount of real money, so that even their optimism grew.

But the illusions melted at about the same time that the last packages from the freezer did, when the rise in wages began to mean a rise in the cost of living, especially in the price of food. Thus, between last August and April of this year, the price of agricultural products rose 182 percent while employee wages rose by only a little less than 44 percent. Still, the weakened economy could not even withstand that amount of increase in earnings, so that wages were frozen by government decree at last November's level. The decree was partially obeyed, and restrictions on payments to workers remain in effect to this day, despite the fact that after March wages were "unfrozen," but the slowdown in the growth of wages was influenced much more by the fact that the state stopped printing money "backed" by increased production and that it no longer issued loans "for the revival of production," which in practice were used to finance employee earnings, especially workers on so-called forced vacation.

Thus, the average wage was halted at a value of around 150 German marks [DM], which is what economists figured to be the upper limit for the achieved level of production and labor productivity. Admittedly, the wages were nominal and at the official dinar exchange rate they were soon twice as much, but all the printing and lending without real backing had long fixed the dinar-German mark exchange rate at 2 to 1.

In April, the average employee wage was 291.69 dinars, 284.78 in business-sector activities and 317.58 in nonbusiness-sector activities. The wage was 254.55 in Montenegro, 294.27 in Serbia (Central Serbia 288.62, Vojvodina 316.84, and Kosovo and Metohija 261.00). Since November 1994, when they were frozen, wages have undergone nominal growth of a little over 17 percent.

For curiosity's sake, the highest wage in April was received by employees in scientific research in Vojvodina (808.20 dinars), while the lowest was also in scientific research, but in Kosovo and Metohija (74.00 dinars).

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Costs Are Faster

Despite a nominal rise of 6.3 percent, real wages (factoring in the cost of living) fell by a little more than 2 percent from March to April. Indeed, the cost of living has been rising continuously from month to month, dating back to September of last year. The biggest jumps were in November (10 percent), January of this year (15 percent), and April (9 percent). In April, the cost of foodstuffs rose 10 percent, tobacco and beverages 25 percent, clothing and footwear 12 percent, housing 10 percent, home furnishings 12 percent, hygiene 11 percent, culture and art 28 percent.... In May, costs rose another 5.1 percent.

The statistical basket of food and drink for a family of four rose in price from 607.78 dinars in November of last year to 703.20 dinars in May of this year. This May basket required 2.4 April wages (which are actually received and spent in May). The biggest price increases in the basket from April to May related to basic vegetables: potatoes 83 percent, onions 35 percent, carrots 32 percent, cauliflower 15 percent:... The price of meat rose around 2.5 percent, edible oil 3.5 percent, vinegar 7 percent, sugar more than 6 percent, mineral water 6 percent....

Life is hard, and no one knows how to really "make ends meet." In April, for example, one had to work 1.5 days for a bar of chocolate and 2.5 days for a kilogram of coffee; around six hours for a kilogram of meat, 7.5 days for a pair of inexpensive men's shoes or women's sandals, and nine days for a pair of sneakers. These are things that people usually must buy, but some of them at the expense of others. If they buy shoes, then they will not eat meat for two weeks. They do not even think about goods of higher value. A couch would cost 3.2 monthly wages, a washing machine 5.4, a television 6.9.... There is probably nowhere else in the world where the populace owns as many useless and immobile cars and where buying a new car is so far out of reach as in the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia]. In April a small Yugo 45 cost exactly 56 monthly wages. In order to make it possible for citizens to nevertheless buy one of these "precious" things, there is increasing talk of reintroducing consumer loans. But if one-third of the wage is set aside to repayment, that same Yugo would require 168 installments, or a 14-year loan!

Instead of all this, most Yugoslavs are eating their wages. In the third quarter of last year (when the situation was in fact better than it is today), the average Yugoslav household spent 50.7 percent of its disposable income on food and another 8 percent on drink and cigarettes. During the same period, a household in Montenegro spent 60.3 percent on food, while the figure in Kosovo and Metohija was 64.2 percent. All other expense items are more or less insignificant and relate to the most essential needs: 6.1 percent for clothing and footwear, 5.8 percent for transportation and telephone, 5.1 percent for fuel and lighting.... Naturally, even that could not be covered by wages from the regular job. An SZS [Federal Institute of Statistics] survey showed that in households only 39.3 percent of the disposable means comes from income from the regular job. Even in purely nonfarm households, wages account for only 50 percent of the total household budget. Among other sources of income are pensions of other members of the household, income from private shops, black market work, and other lesser sources. Indeed, the average nonfarm household has statistically 3.14 members, with 1.15 of them employed.

In the end, it has turned out that the purchasing power of the populace was in fact greater during those months of hyperinflation, with the checking machinations and dashing from one end of the city to the other in search of goods kept at low prices, two or three days old, by state decree, than today, when the economic reality has been laid bare and stabilized at a miserable level of human existence.

Serbia

Kozyrev on Milosevic Talks, Commitment to Peace

LD2507134895 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1330 GMT 25 Jun 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, July 25 (TANJUG)—Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev said Tuesday that his talks with Serbia's President Slobodan Milosevic on Monday [24 July] had convinced him once again that "the president and the leadership of Serbia remain firmly committed to a peace policy."

In a statement made before leaving Belgrade, Kozyrev underscored the importance of a halt to the fighting in all of Bosnia-Herzegovina in keeping with UN Security Council resolutions.

"In my view and the view of President Milosevic, and that was President Yeltsin's message, too, there must be no artificial deadlocks in the political talks on the basis of the Contact Group plan," the Russian minister said.

Kozyrev called for the lifting of the UN Security Council sanctions against Yugoslavia and said "the Contact Group did wrong to only partially ease the sanctions, and with great difficulty at that."

He said "an opportunity was thus missed for a political solution to the conflict, and the consequence was the resumption of hostilities and the tragedy."

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Kozyrev expressed the opinion that the chief task now was not to permit either attacks on Gorazde or those from Gorazde and to absolutely halt the fighting in all of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The Russian chief diplomat said it was wrong individually to resolve issues, such as those of Gorazde and Sarajevo, which he set out was why Russia was working for a political solution, assessing that work should parallelly continue in the Contact Group.

"I think that President Milosevic has made good moves, although not everything depends on Belgrade, because if it did everything would have been resolved long ago," Kozyrev stated.

He said that "regrettably, not everything depends on Russia either, because if that were so, the Contact Group would undertake a political regulation, implying the easing of the sanctions."

Kozyrev stressed that neither Belgrade nor Moscow would abandon their efforts and would, regardless of everything, continue to call for the peace process because its possibilities had not yet been exhausted.

"The logic that a military solution and ultimatum should be resorted to is not convincing in Russia's view, because there is simply no military solution," Kozyrev stressed.

Jovanovic Comments on Kozyrev's Visit

LD2507141595 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1250 GMT 25 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 25 Jul (TANJUG)—Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev's visit came at the right time, after the London conference and before the announced military actions in Bosnia by NATO and certain countries, Yugoslav Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic said today, commenting on the meeting between Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic and Minister Kozyrev.

In a statement made at Batajnica airport [in Belgrade] after Kozyrev's departure, Jovanovic said Russia "has been and has remained the main advocate of a political solution of the crisis, and that it opposes any military exacerbation of the crisis by any side." Russia has now strengthened this commitment and made a considerable contribution to all the efforts being made both in the country and abroad with the view to finally giving up the war option and immediately agreeing on the cessation of hostilities, Jovanovic said.

He went on to say that "Yugoslavia does not view as positive the latest initiatives that are conductive to the escalation of military tensions in Bosnia, irrespective of motives and explanations, because this is only a careless and irresponsible step into uncertainty."

"Yugoslavia is trying to influence all the warring sides and foreign players to think with more responsibility," the Yugoslav foreign minister said.

"After the talks with the Russian foreign minister, the message to all, including the Serbs and the [Bosnian] Serb Republic, is that a political solution is the only one and the only correct one to which we should aspire," he stressed. "In this connection, everyone should make his own contribution to the stabilization of the situation and the renewal of political talks on the basis of the contact group plan," Jovanovic said.

Views Russian Stand on Bosnia

AU2507191895 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 25 Jul 95

[Statement by Vladislav Jovanovic, foreign minister of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, at Belgrade Batajnica airport on 25 July—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] Since Russia has always been the main advocate of a political solution to the crisis and opposed to any military aggravation by any side, these talks have in fact strengthened that political option and, if I may say so, given weight to all efforts, both in our country and in the world, made with a view to finally stopping the war option, ending hostilities at once, and resuming negotiations on the basis of the Contact Group plan.

We do not regard the latest initiatives supporting military tension and the escalation of battles as positive, regardless of the motives and explanations, as all that is only a careless and irresponsible step into a very worrying insecurity. We want to believe that those people who supported such actions will stop in time and not step into that dangerous abyss. It is in this sense that our country exerts influence on all sides in the conflict, including all foreign factors, to incorporate that necessary amount of responsibility into their moves and not contribute to further a aggravation, as, in the final outcome, that aggravation cannot suit any side in the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina or any country in the world.

VREME Commentator: RS 'Not Viable' State

AU2607095895 Vienna WIENER ZEITUNG in German 26 Jul 95 p 3

[Unattributed report: "No One Can Win the War"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade—Circles of military experts in Belgrade independent of the regime doubt

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that the besieged Muslim enclave Gorazde in eastern Bosnia can be conquered quickly by Serb troops.

"Gorazde, which is being defended by the Bosnian Government troops far better than Srebrenica and is also of greater strategic importance for the Bosnian Government, is a very hard nut to crack for Serb units," says Milos Vasic, military commentator of the dissident weekly VREME, which is published in the Yugoslav capital.

The Bosnian Government is not willing to give up Gorazde as easily as Srebrenica, the first UN protection zone to fall, Vasic told APA.

The storming of Zepa is certainly proving very costly for the Bosnian Serb units, Vasic assumes. "The small town is located in a valley surrounded by mountains and can be conquered militarily only with great human sacrifices."

The VREME commentator does not believe that the current military offensives of the Serb troops in eastern Bosnia are taking place in agreement with Belgrade. "At least, there is no certain evidence of that. However, Belgrade could certainly stop the Serb soldiers." Vasic fears that the fighting around Sarajevo will escalate soon.

Whether this really happens will depend on the efficiency of the 1,700 soldiers of the Rapid Reaction Force, who are stationed in Sarajevo. In Belgrade Vasic is considered to be one of the best experts on the Bosnian crisis and to have very reliable sources of information. He has repeatedly been criticized for his reports both in Belgrade as well as in Pale, the bastion of the Bosnian Serbs.

Vasic sees the Serb offensive in the UN protection zone of Bihac in western Bosnia-Herzegovina as a "routine attack." "First of all, Atif Dudakovic, the commander of the government troops, is an excellent military officer. Second, the Bihac enclave with about 200,000 inhabitants is too big for (Bosnian Serb leader Radovan) Karadzic. His goal is ethnically pure areas. On the one hand, he cannot simply drive out 200,000 people; on the other, there is no room for non-Serbs in his state." Vasic is convinced that "neither Serbs nor Bosnians can win the war. Guided by Belgrade, the Bosnian Serbs have embarked upon creating Greater Serbia. What they have got is a state, the Serb Republic [RS], which is not viable. The Serb units, which are suffering acute losses in personnel, are becoming increasingly weak in military terms. The Bosnian Government Army, for its part, is not strong enough to defeat them. There are about 600,000 to 650,000 Serbs on territory controlled by the Serbs, which is about half of the people who lived there before the war. That is too few for a viable state."

Recommendations To Ensure Clean Water

95BA0290C Belgrade EKONOMSKA POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 19 Jun 95 p 29

[Article by Zarko Mihic: "Protecting Water: 'No Swimming'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Only 10 localities in Serbia have functional plants for purifying waste water; Vojvodina is the number-three region in the world in terms of water resources, but once again there is not enough drinking water; last year in Serbia, there were 18 recorded water-borne disease epidemics, with 710 people getting sick from bacteria in the drinking water.

Analyses of the Serbian water supply recently performed by experts from the Jaroslav Cerni Institute for Water Management in Belgrade showed beyond a shadow of a doubt that the populace is threatened by regular water shortages and that the quality of the water is increasingly questionable. The sanctions imposed by the international community have indeed reduced industrial water pollution to a large extent, but the biggest polluters, communities and major cities, continue to dump their waste water into our river basins. The top priority in protecting domestic water for the coming decade should be the construction of water purification plants, which in turn depends in large measure on our choices.

Dr. Mirko Popovic of the Jaroslav Cerni Institute worked previously on the largest municipal water purification plant in the former Yugoslavia, in Sarajevo. The system, installed for a city of 600,000 residents and for regional industry, functioned properly (until the war), and its upkeep cost each resident the equivalent of one cup of coffee in a restaurant each month, in addition to other public utility charges. The view that such technologies are a luxury for our level of national income has become entrenched; however, let us take a look at what will happen if they are delayed.

"The European Union has issued a directive specifying that all localities of 15,000 or more residents must construct systems for purifying waste water by the year 2000. The West has overexploited nature and polluted its underground water, and now it is introducing strict ISO [International Standards Organization] standards of quality on its markets. Our country has had a major advantage here because in addition to cheap labor, industry has not had to bear the high costs of purification and ecology. But what does the future hold in store?" asks Dr. Mirko Popovic.

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"In protecting our water, which unfortunately is not available in adequate quantities in Serbia, the greatest danger comes from waste water from localities and cities that flows directly into rivers and river basins," Popovic asserts.

Around 60 percent of the populace currently uses the public sewer system (mostly in Belgrade). But according to the institute's analysis, of the 190 localities that have sewer systems, one can count on the fingers of one hand the cities whose waste water purification plants are in operation (Subotica, Sombor, Gornji Milanovac, Kragujevac).

On the health front, this fact last year caused 14 water-borne disease epidemics, in which 710 people came down with dysentery, enterocolitis, or hepatitis.

"For example, the capital, Belgrade, still does not have such a plant because it was assumed that the Danube and Sava would be able to absorb all of that. And those two rivers can absorb it, but then the Iron Gate was built, with its reservoir on our side, where all of it is being deposited," Popovic explains. "Perhaps that won't be a problem for this generation, but it certainly will be for future ones, it will be a big problem."

Considering the price that is paid for the consumption of drinking water in our country (and we even use it for industrial purposes too), investing in the purification of so-called public-utility water seems too expensive in this situation. But if one performs a per capita calculation, then the average investment comes to around 100 German marks [DM] per resident, with an annual upkeep cost of DM10. Concretely speaking, that would mean around DM100 million for Belgrade. At the same time, all of industry in this region solves its waste water problem.

On the whole, Serbia does not have enough domestic water, only 1,550 cubic meters per inhabitant per year (3,000 per resident is regarded as satisfactory); however, there is an abundance of so-called transitory water, which brings the total to 5,000 cubic meters per inhabitant per year. But then there is the problem of the quality of the water coming to us from abroad, i.e., how to monitor it for the purposes of supplying the populace with water.

"We have a paradox, for example, in that Vojvodina, in terms of quantity of water per capita, is number three in the world, after Canada and Norway, but once again water is in short supply. There is concern about using the Danube to supply the populace there because of the fear that radioactive waste will turn up in its waters. However, let us look at what has happened to the Sava, which previously and even now has been more polluted than the Danube, but we in turn have taken it for the Belgrade water supply. It was reasoned that it is in our state and we always have control over its course, but now the Sava too is a river that comes to us from abroad. The drinking water in Belgrade is of adequate quality and I feel that there is no reason not to set up similar water plants on the Danube as well," Popovic concludes.

In a situation where local radio stations in Serbia report on the water situation and rationing schedule every morning, this is logical, but where is water management today, in this state? It is directly under the control of three ministries of the republic (agriculture, urban affairs, and protection of vital resources), but nowhere is it number one. An interdepartmental group was formed only recently, after reports on the water situation in Serbia, a team of representatives from six ministries that will implement a long-term water management strategy. At the end of this month, the Jaroslav Cerni Institute is also supposed to issue a Basic Report on Water Management, which is to serve as the basis for the use and protection of water in Serbia until 2021.

"The worst type of pollution is when underground water is polluted, and it is polluted through the infusionary overexploitation of nature. In France, for example, all the underground water is polluted and you have the phenomenon of impermissible concentrations of nitrates, which are indicated as a possible cause of cancers of the digestive tract. We too have had such situations in Slavonia, Vrsac, and Pozarevac, and such water can be dangerous, especially to newborn children. Such pollution is primarily the result of the excessive use of synthetic fertilizers in agriculture, and today you have technologies for purifying such underground water, but that is very, very expensive technology. This means that generations have overexploited nature and now it is fighting back," Popovic explains in conclusion. We have not yet arrived at that level of pollution, and there lies our opportunity!

Kosovo

Police Arrest Activists in Gnjilane, Malisevo

AU2507160295

[FBIS Editorial Report] Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT in English No 665 and the Tirana TVSh Television Network in Albanian at 1635 GMT on 24 July carry a number of reports on Serbian police "harassment" of Albanian party activists and the "daily repression" and raids on Albanian homes in the province.

According to KOSOVA DAILY REPORT, the LDK (Democratic League of Kosovo) Information Commission reports that over the past week, Serbian police inspectors in Gnjilane district "have been summoning" the

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LDK youth activists to the "so-called police informative talks." The report says that the Serbian security police on 20 July detained the LDK Youth Forum chairman in Pograxh, and on 21 July the LDK Youth Forum activist in Malisevo, who were both interrogated "for hours" in connection with "their political activities."

It is also reported that the Montenegrin police in Tuz detained a young Albanian from Broje village in Suva Reka, who "was on his way home from Tuz, where he is working temporarily." The young Albanian was "immediately" sent to the police station in Tuz, where he "was held overnight." The Albanian confirmed that, while at the police station, he was subject to "brutal police torture" and "had to seek medical treatment afterwards," adding that the police told him nothing about the "motive behind his arrest and ill-treatment."

Reports from Istog say that the Serbian police on 21 July arrested an Albanian from Saradran village allegedly "in connection with arms possession." The Albanian was apprehended at the police station "for hours" and was reported subject to "police torture." It is reported that, "under the same pretext," the Serbian police summoned 10 Albanians to "report" to the police station.

Sources in Orahovac note that under "alleged suspicion of dealing with arms trafficking," the Serbian police arrested an Albanian farmer from Sopniq village, who was held at the police station "for several hours" and was subject to "heavy police torture." It is reported that the farmer "had to seek medical treatment."

There have also been reports of "Serbian police violence against the Albanian population" at Noshpall, Sopniq, Xerx, Krushe e Madhe, and Potoan i Ulet villages, according to the KOSOVA DAILY REPORT.

Tirana TVSh Television Network in Albanian at 1635 GMT on 24 July, citing the Kosovo Information Center, reports that "the Gjilan [Gnjilane] District Court has decided to keep four Albanian political activists in the Kamenice [Kamenica] commune in custody for another 15 days."

ADP Warns of 'Stepped Up Repression' in Presevo

AU2507153695 Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT in English 24 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Presheve-based [Presevo] Albanian Democratic Party (ADP) warned in a meeting held on Saturday [22 July] over the stepped up repression of the Serbian regime against local Albanians in the Medvegje [Medveda] and Presheve municipalities (in southern Serbia), today's BUJKU reports. The Trnovc and Bila villages of Bujanovc and the Corrotice village of Presheve have been undergoing police repressive practices in the form of raids allegedly in connection with arms searches, similar to the ones carried out in the past years in Kosova, the party said. The ADP said it has itself been subjected to pressures by the Serbian Justice Ministry in the aftermath of a discussion in the Serbian Parliament of its member, Mr. Tahir Dalipi.

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